



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 128

Major Reshuffles Cabinet To Fix Britain's Economy

Government to pursue European unity, tax increases

By Alexander MacLeod

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

FIRING his top economic officer and reshuffling his Cabinet, Prime Minister John Major yesterday set Britain on a course of tough new economic policies that will include public spending cuts and tax increases.

Mr. Major replaced Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont with Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke, a political heavyweight and an advocate of European unity, in a move that showed a determination to come to grips with ballooning public debt and an economy moving only slowly out of the longest and deepest recession since the 1930s.

Mr. Clarke's elevation to the top economic job was seen by Conservative Party parliamentarians as an indication that the prime minister intends to follow pro-European Community policies once the Maastricht Treaty on European integration is signed into law by the Queen, probably by the end of July.

The new chancellor has been a campaigner for European unity for many

years. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the exchange rate mechanism (ERM) of the European Monetary System before Britain was forced to quit the ERM last September.

In a gesture to "Euroskeptics" in the governing party, Clarke in recent months has said he does not favor an early return to the ERM. Unlike Mr. Lamont, however, he remains an advocate of managed exchange rates.

Lamont was removed from the chancellorship after a long rear-guard action to save his job. He was offered another post in the government, but declined. A supporter said yesterday that Lamont was likely to be an outspoken backbench critic of the government. Sources close to him said he was leaving the government in a mood of considerable bitterness.

Reshaping his Cabinet, Major also removed or reassigned six other senior ministers. The prime minister apparently was responding to a widespread feeling in the Conservative Party that Lamont was not the man to pursue new economic policies. A Downing Street official, speaking after the reshuffle, said the aim was "to refresh the government

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HUMAN RIGHTS COMPROMISE

President Urges Renewal of China's Top Trade Status

By Amy Kaslow

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Clinton is taking a tougher trade position toward China by attaching conditions to the United States' extension of most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status.

The White House decision, announced yesterday after long consultations with US lawmakers and business leaders, will require China to make improvements over the next year in human rights, redress unfair trade practices, and honor its commitment to accords on nonproliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons.

If Beijing fails to respond, the US may disqualify China from receiving the lowest tariffs that most US trade partners are entitled to under MFN.

"I want to support modernization in China," Mr. Clinton said. But he added that China must realize "there has to be some

progress on human rights" and in curbing use of prison labor.

China continues its flagrant human rights abuses and export of goods to the US made by forced prison labor, according to a just-released report by former Chinese prisoner Harry Wu.

Beijing's Ministry of Foreign Affairs agreed last August to suspend such exports, and the Chinese government

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Next Week in the Monitor

- Four years after Tiananmen Square uprisings, students favor business over politics. Series begins **Tuesday**.
- Japan's Crown Prince Naruhito is to wed in a ceremony steeped in tradition. **Wednesday**.
- Once primarily academic, university publishers now offer books with wider appeal. **Friday**.

Memorial Day Signals Start of the Summer of the Tightwad Tourist

By Scott Armstrong

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

AMERICANS are regaining a touch of wanderlust.

After several years of curtailing vacations, more people are expected to travel in the United States this summer than in the past three years — and perhaps in history.

The growth in domestic travel is a sign that the recession may be easing its curmudgeon hold on consumer confidence.

But the release is not complete. Even as more Americans are projected to journey from Gettysburg to the Grand Tetons, the trips are likely to be of shorter duration and the amount of money spent modest.

Meet what may be the new archetype of the 1990s: the tightwad traveler.

"This is going to be the decade of the discount shopper in travel,"



TOURISTS ON THE MERCED RIVER, YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK: The northern California park is expected to draw visitors in record numbers this summer.

says Dexter Koehl of the Travel Industry Association of America, a trade group. "While people will be traveling in greater numbers, they will not be spending as much."

Memorial Day weekend, the official start of the summer travel

season, will offer the first gauge on how many people will be strapping on roof racks or hitching up trailers.

The American Automobile Association (AAA) estimates that 28.1 million Americans will travel over the three-day holiday — the

highest number in the nine years the organization has been keeping records.

For the summer, AAA and the Travel Industry Association project a record 232 million Americans will journey 100 miles or more away from home.

"As the impact of the recession on travel continues to lessen, Americans are expected to go on a vacation binge that should hit record numbers this summer," Paul Verkuil, AAA president, said at a recent press conference.

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NATIONAL

Clinton Eyes Two US Judges For High Court

IS President Clinton - who has made "diversity" a hallmark of administration appointments - choosing his Supreme Court nominee from a short list that includes only two white males?

That, apparently, is the word from anonymous White House sources, who say that the two finalists are Judge Stephen Breyer of the First US Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston and Judge Jon Newman of the Second US Circuit Court of Appeals in Hartford, Conn.

Judges Breyer and Newman are moderates appointed by President Carter. They are known for finding consensus among their fellow judges, a trait President Clinton apparently wants in his first choice for the Supreme Court. Both also would probably win easy confirmation from the Senate - a factor that might lead the president to set aside his pledge to appoint women and minorities.

WASHINGTON WATCH

White House officials say that Clinton hasn't made a final decision, and that an announcement will come next week.

Perot attacks

Last year, President Bush figured he was in trouble about the time that Ross Perot started snapping at his heels. So what does it say about Clinton's standing that the Texas billionaire has now turned his heavy artillery on the president? (NAFTA attack Page 3.)

In an interview with David Frost released on Wednesday, Mr. Perot declared that Clinton wasn't qualified to lead a corporation.

"If you were interviewing him for your company, and you had a medium-sized company, you wouldn't consider giving him a job anywhere above middle management," the former presidential candidate drawled.

"Not because he couldn't eventually be the president or chief executive officer, but his background doesn't give him those skills now. He has a learning curve in Washington that's like a cliff," he said.

Those wouldn't be the words of a man eying another bid for the White House, would they?

A menu of health-care options

President Clinton's health package will offer Americans a choice of three types of plans and require everyone, including the poor, to pay something toward their own care, a senior administration official says. The choices will be among fee-for-service coverage and two types of managed care - a health maintenance organization or a so-called preferred provider organization - said the official, who spoke with the Associated Press on condition of anonymity.

- Compiled by Max Boot

Behind the Budget Showdown

Powerful Rules Committee limits Republicans' chance to offer alternative fiscal plans

By John Dillin

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THE lights burned until 4 a.m. yesterday in the Rules Committee as the House of Representatives braced for its most important vote of the year.

In a crowded, ornate chamber on the third floor of the United States Capitol, the all-important rules body set the stage for the legislative showdown on President Clinton's \$1.5 trillion budget.

The prestigious committee - 12 men, 1 woman - is an unheralded focal point of power in the nation's capital. The tightly run group, controlled by an overwhelming 9-to-4 Democratic majority, is like a steering wheel for the party leadership.

As the House prepared to vote, Rules members gathered in their cramped hearing room, so small that there is space for only six news reporters squeezed into the back; other news people must cool their heels outside, waiting for an empty chair. Reporters who finally get inside are told firmly: "no tape recorders."

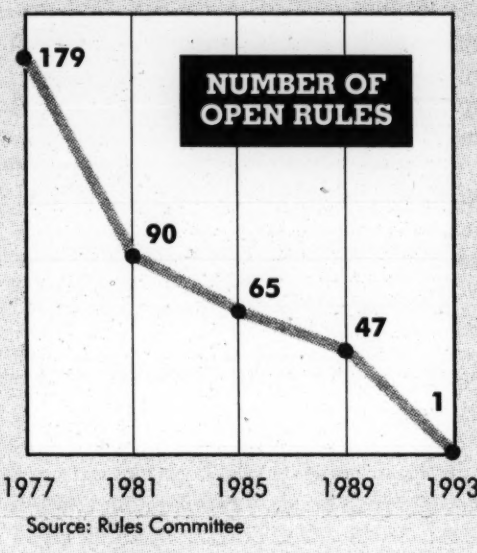
THE Rules Committee is where the Democratic leadership usually says "no" to scores of members who want their proposals debated on the House floor. It is where hundreds of interesting, innovative ideas - both Democratic and Republican - often crash hopelessly against the steely procedures of the House. And so it was Thursday.

Fifty-five members, from Ohio and Texas, from Georgia and California, from Arizona and Connecticut, begged permission to amend the Clinton budget.

In the end, the committee said "no" to all but one - Rep. John Kasich (R) of Ohio. Representative Kasich, a leader in the House fight against higher taxes, was given one hour yesterday to put his comprehensive proposal before House members.

House Restricts Amendments

The number of "open rules," which allow members of the House of Representatives to offer relevant amendments, has plummeted during the past decade.



Among those rejected was House minority leader Bob Michel (R) of Illinois and Rep. Olympia Snowe (R) of Maine. They had put forward one of the most explosive, and popular, ideas one that might have carried a majority if it ever got to the House floor.

They would have killed Mr. Clinton's \$71.5 billion energy, or Btu, tax, and replaced it with spending cuts.

Also turned aside was Rep. Bill Archer (R) of Texas. He was trying to head off higher taxes on social security recipients.

Rules' strict control of the process has angered many members, including some freshmen. They had hoped to attack the government's \$300 billion budget deficit with a vengeance. Instead, their ideas cannot even come up for a vote on the House floor.

Rep. Porter Goss of Florida, one of the few Republicans on the Rules Committee, says he has been "shocked" by the Democratic leadership's overwhelming rejection

of almost every amendment this year.

The committee's legendary authority has seldom been so rigorously applied as in 1993. So-called "restrictive rules," which prohibit any amendments on the floor, are commonplace.

In previous decades - for instance, in the 95th Congress (1977-78) - rules that restricted amendments were applied to only 15 percent of the bills on the House floor. In the current Congress, almost every bill gets a restricted rule that doesn't allow changes.

When the Democratic majority permits an amendment, as they did with Kasich, it's often because they feel sure it won't win. The Kasich proposal, a thick document assembled by a team of Republican congressmen, detailed \$355 billion in spending cuts, and zero new taxes.

Kasich's spending cuts were so severe, however, that Democratic leaders were certain it couldn't win.

Minority leader Michel's proposal might have done much better. He warned the committee that Clinton's Btu tax would impose a \$500 burden on the average family, with an even greater impact on people in cold-weather states. Representative Snowe called the energy tax "a job loss proposal, not a job creator" as Mr. Clinton promised during this campaign.

Representative Archer agreed, cautioning the committee that the Clinton energy tax could cost the US 600,000 to 1 million lost jobs by 1998. He warned that industry after industry - oil refineries, cement, aluminum, glass, paper, steel - will move out of the country to areas where their basic fuels and feedstocks won't be taxed.

Archer also complained about the forthcoming tax on Social Security benefits for many middle-class people who have other incomes from investments. The Clinton tax penalizes "only those who saved during their lifetimes," he said.

The meeting plodded on relentlessly. No break for lunch. No break for dinner. Many congressmen waited for hours to make their pleas.

Their efforts were mostly in vain.

Senator Lugar Calls for Foreign Policy Leadership

WASHINGTON

AMERICAN foreign policy has become an endless series of inconclusive consultations that has "dismayed" European allies, said Sen. Richard Lugar (R) of Indiana, ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at a Monitor breakfast yesterday.

"I'm not sure the president himself has core values he wants to bring out," says Lugar, so he is drawn to "endless consensus-seeking."

A high-ranking State Department official was roundly countered by the rest of the Clinton administration this week when the official spoke of a minimal role for United States leadership in the world. But the same point has been made by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and other administration officials and appears to reflect the direction of US policy, says Lugar. Polls may show that the public is not willing to risk any mil-

itary engagement in the former Yugoslavia, he says. But "the American people would never favor any of the Bosnian options unless the president explains to them why Europe matters."

During the campaign, Bill Clinton's position on many foreign affairs matters "essentially said America must lead," says Lugar. But in office he has lapsed into a drift marked by seminar-like meetings that reach few decisions. If American rhetoric continues to be marked by withdrawal from the world, he adds, "we will be tested endlessly."

Less than three weeks ago, President Clinton told Lugar directly that US policy was to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims. That policy has been overrun by Russia-backed alternatives.

"People began to realize the [policy] vacuum was so big that even the Russian foreign minister can come into it," Lugar comments.

- Marshall Ingwerson



FEEDING FRENZY: White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers (c.) takes questions from a swarm of reporters during President Clinton's appearance in Stratham, N.H., last week, just after the 'travelgate' scandal broke.

Poor 'Damage Control' by Clinton Keeps 'Travelgate' Scandal Going

By Linda Feldmann

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

ON a scale of 1 to 10, as talkmeister John McLaughlin would say, how serious is the White House travel office flap?

If Watergate is a 10, this ranks around perhaps a 2 or a 3 on the scandal-meter, say Washington pundits. Some argue it isn't even a scandal at all: It's just incompetence, the result of an inexperienced White House staff that has not learned the art of damage control.

In summarily firing seven long-time staff members last week in its travel office, the White House broke no laws. It did violate its own pledge to keep the Department of Justice out of politics, by having direct contact with Federal Bureau of Investigation officials to initiate an investigation of the travel office and then in discussions on what to tell the public. Attorney General Janet Reno says she was bypassed, and she protested the handling of the affair to White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum.

Suzanne Garment, author of a book on Washington scandals, says that this one ranks pretty low. "But in terms of the principles being violated, I think we're getting up there," she says. "They ended up using the FBI not for cover up but for something worse, not to hide a crime, but in substance to accuse someone falsely of a crime."

The seven staffers fired — five of them were subsequently upgraded to "administrative leave" while investigations continue — were accused of financial irregularities in the office that handles travel for White House staff and press. But memos from Hollywood producer Harry Thomason and presidential cousin Catherine Cornelius, both of whom could benefit personally from a shake-up in the office, created the ap-

pearance of cronyism.

If, ultimately, "travelgate" is small potatoes, why is the story still with us more than a week after it broke? Because the White House failed in Rule No. 1 of damage control: Reveal everything as soon as possible so the press has nothing more to ferret out.

"What keeps a scandal going in part is the same thing that keeps any running news story going, which is something new every day, some little thing to give a

top to the same old story," says Stephen Hess, a longtime observer of politics and the press at the Brookings Institution.

"These folks have been uniquely inept at constantly topping a story they'd just as soon have go away..." Mr. Hess says. "The way you handle that is you give everything you've got to give, and you've got the story for 48 hours. The story for one day, then rebuttals."

In its own internal investigation, the White House should not have had a hard time piecing together the whole story, since it all took place at the White House, Mr. Hess adds.

Some changes in White House staff may be in the offing, according to press reports, but not before President Clinton is finished getting his budget through Congress — the most important point of his presidency thus far.

How does Clinton get over this public-relations fiasco, made only worse by the \$200 haircut that held up runway traffic last week at Los Angeles International Airport? A clear victory on a matter of real substance, such as the budget. Or, suggests Ms. Garment, "perhaps we'll get a wise and just health plan, in which case much will be forgiven."

Alan Lichtman, an American University political historian, calls the travel office flap more a blunder than a scandal. He partially faults the press for making it appear to be more important than it really is.

"The fact that this is still front-page news on the eve of the most important vote [on the budget package] of his presidency thus far is stunning," says Professor Lichtman.

Indeed, even as the White House was preoccupied with trying to work out a compromise with conservative House Democrats on spending and taxes, the vast majority of questions fired at Communications Director George Stephanopolous at Wednesday's White House press briefing were on the travel office.

CHRONOLOGY

Feb. 15: Catherine Cornelius, a distant Clinton cousin, prepares memo proposing replacing travel office employees with Clinton campaign aides. Then, she gets job in office.

May 10: Clinton friend Harry Thomason complains about travel office.

May 14: Administration initiates outside audit of travel office.

May 19: White House fires seven staff members in travel office, citing "gross financial mismanagement." Ms. Cornelius is put in charge of office.

May 20: White House denies Thomason role in firing of travel staff.

May 21: White House drops Cornelius's company as temporary travel coordinator, but Cornelius remains in office. White House releases FBI statement saying "criminal investigation is warranted."

May 24: White House acknowledges contacts with FBI. Attorney General Janet Reno complains she was bypassed.

May 25: White House reinstates five of seven travel-office workers. Clinton denies involvement in the firings.

Independent Perot Mobilizes Attack Against NAFTA

By Scott Pendleton

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DALLAS

ROSS PEROT has gone into his "saturation bombing" mode against the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

During his independent presidential campaign, Mr. Perot used the military term as a metaphor for the massive TV campaign to inform voters on issues that he promised to conduct if elected.

Although he finished third in the race, the Dallas billionaire capitalized on his 19 percent share of the vote by establishing United We Stand America (UWSA). The political advocacy organization has signed on more than 1 million dues-paying members in five months. Perot has already used UWSA as an alternative bully pulpit to attack President Clinton's economic program as long on taxes and short on spending cuts.

Now he is turning his attention to NAFTA. During the campaign, Perot was the only candidate to oppose the treaty that would add Mexico to the existing free trade union of Canada and the United States. He predicted then that, upon passage of NAFTA, voters would hear a "giant sucking sound" of American jobs moving south.

The sound voters have been hearing lately is Perot denouncing NAFTA on "Donahue," "...talking with David Frost," and the network morning TV shows. In addition, Perot plans to broadcast his third half-hour infomercial since January. "Keeping Your Job in the USA" will air Sunday on NBC.

Darcy Anderson, UWSA national director, said the group has not ordered its priorities, which also include pushing for a line-item veto, and passing a balanced-budget amendment, term limitations, and campaign reforms. But NAFTA is an immediate concern because it is coming up for action.

Representatives of the three nations are now negotiating side agreements on environmental and labor issues. They are expected by the end of June, a congressional staff member says.

Enabling legislation could be submitted to Congress in September. That would begin a 90-day countdown, by the end of which Congress must vote on the legislation; a vote, though, is expected much sooner. The treaty is set to take effect New Year's Day. If Congress has failed to pass it by then, it could pass it later and make it retroactive to Jan. 1, the staff member says.

Mr. Anderson says Perot's anti-NAFTA stance "reflects the sentiments of our membership," although UWSA has not actually polled its members. A questionnaire put to TV viewers found that "well over 60 percent" agreed that "recent trade agreements have hurt the US," he says.

In San Jose, Calif., UWSA volunteer Valli Sharpe-Geisler has turned her office fax line into a "NAFTA hot line." A former "couch politician," she has collected and analyzed hundreds of documents related to the treaty. She is convinced that NAFTA would undermine the American middle class, whom she considers to be "the consumer base of the world." "If you don't have a consumer base, how is democracy going to thrive?" she asks.

Robin Marra, a political science professor at Southern Methodist University here, doubts that anyone really knows whether the US will win or lose more under a treaty as complex and sweeping as NAFTA. But taking a stand on it poses little risk to Perot as a potential 1996 presidential candidate, and it has the advantage of keeping him in the public eye, Dr. Marra says.

Recruitment will not be a specific aim of Sunday's broadcast. However, each spot on TV has had that effect. Anderson says 2,000 people joined UWSA when its toll-free number was shown on "Dateline NBC" recently, even though the story was negative.

United We Stand's national director says Perot's anti-NAFTA stance 'reflects the sentiments of our membership,' although UWSA has not yet polled its members.

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2nd set a new course for the future."

Major was shaken a month ago when the Conservatives lost what they thought was a safe seat in a key parliamentary by-election. They also sustained heavy losses in local government elections. Many former Conservative Party voters said they had turned against the government because of Lamont's economic policies and what some saw as his arrogant political style.

Clarke, the new chancellor, is a distinguished legal advocate renowned for a rough-and-tumble style of debate. His first Cabinet job was as health secretary. He spearheaded sweeping changes in the national health service, and was not afraid of head-on clashes with doctors and nurses who opposed him.

In European affairs he will offer solid support for Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, both of whom are committed to the Maastricht Treaty. Operating as a trio, analysts say, they will project a line that is avowedly pro-European but opposed to the

R. NORMAN MATHENY - STAFF



JOHN MAJOR: The premier's political reputation has been damaged by the longest and deepest recession in Britain since the 1930s.

centralizing policies associated with Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission.

Clarke's principal tasks will be presiding over a round of public spending cuts designed to slash Britain's £50 billion (\$77.5 billion) government debt and ensure that inflation remains under control.

The prime minister intends to assign him to the parallel task of framing new taxation measures, including possible increases in personal income tax. Clarke will need all his skills as a determined political operator to persuade the public that tax increases are necessary.

Before the April 1992 general election, which returned

Major to power, the Conservatives undertook not to increase taxes. But Lamont, in his budget last month, imposed value-added tax on fuel, and this was attacked by the Labour opposition as a broken election pledge.

The Cabinet reshuffle also represented an attempt by Major to restore his own political reputation, damaged by recession. Opinion polls indicate that he is the least popular of any prime minister since 1945.

Clarke's replacement at the Home Office, where he pursued stringent law and order policies and was an advocate of strict immigration control, is Michael Howard, the former environment secretary. Mr. Howard is widely seen as a Euroskeptic, but the balance of the new Cabinet appears tilted toward the pursuit of affirmative European policies.

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Others aren't quite so bullish. James Cammisa, publisher of Travel Industry Indicators, a Florida-based trade publication, estimates overall domestic travel this summer will be up 3 percent to 4 percent. He says that would make it the best year since 1990.

"The outlook is pretty good," says Mr. Cammisa. "It is no boom-boom year. But there is a lot of pent-up demand since many vacations have not been taken in the past few years."

Some of the nation's favorite haunts reflect varying degrees of expectation:

■ Universal Studios Hollywood expects to draw 5 million visitors this summer, the most in its history. Part of this reflects an expected increase in tourism in Los Angeles in general; and part, heavy promotion for a new "Back to the Future" ride set to open in June.

■ Visits to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., in the first few months of this year have been running about 8 percent ahead of last year's pace, suggesting it could be a healthy summer.

■ Some 282 million people are expected to visit national parks in 1993, a 3 percent increase over

last year, which is about average. Visits to the parks have been off 5 percent through the first few months of this year, the result of bad weather in some areas.

A long winter has kept people away from the granite visages at Mount Rushmore. But it has helped draw legions to perennially popular Yosemite National Park: Because of heavy snows earlier in the year, the northern California park's famed water-

'There is a lot of pent-up demand since many vacations have not been taken in the past few years,' says a travel-industry watcher.

falls, usually diaphanous, are flowing like Rasputin's beard.

Snow has limited the public access to the high country. Thus the park last weekend, for the first time in history, had to close its gates to avoid overcrowding in other areas.

More people will be seeing America by car. Last summer, Kmart-priced air fares prompted a surge in air travel. This year the

bargains aren't as plentiful, so AAA estimates 82 percent of all vacation trips will be by motor vehicle.

Industry surveys indicate top tourist destinations will be central Florida (with Disney World and other attractions), Branson, Mo. (a country music hub), Yellowstone National Park, Washington, D.C., and the Los Angeles area. Emerging hot spots include Glacier National Park in Montana and the Bunyan-sized 78-acre Mall of America in Bloomington, Minn.

When people get to these places, they will find modestly higher prices. The AAA estimates that a family of four will spend an average of \$215 a day for meals, lodging, and car expenses - up \$6 since 1991.

Because of differences in the value of the dollar and foreign currencies, the United States should continue to be a popular stop for European vacationers.

Even with all the positive signs, though, analysts caution that consumer spending will have to rebound further before the domestic travel industry revives completely - especially in these days of the frugal tourist.

"Coming out of the recession, we will not likely see a return to the carefree spending days of the 1980s," says Mr. Cammisa.

CHINA from page 1

denies any violation of this agreement.

The issue of China's trade status is a prickly one for Clinton, who is challenged both to satisfy tough China critics on Capitol Hill and to avoid damaging ties with the world's most populous country - and the most promising outlet for US exports.

"Our goals here are to have Congress behind us ... to push China to make the changes," says a senior US official. He underscores the country's vast market potential: "China will move from an \$80 billion economy to a \$165 billion economy by the end of the decade."

Congressional support

The White House seems to have congressional leaders on board. One, Senate majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine, was blocked by the Bush administration in his efforts to hold the Asian powerhouse accountable for its policies.

"You [now] have a president who is considering strong and meaningful executive action," a pleased Senator Mitchell told the Monitor this week.

The weeks of negotiation leading up to the June 3 MFN decision deadline have not been easy. Policymakers have been in conflict over competing commercial and diplomatic concerns, including China's fast-expanding market opportunities and a human rights record that offends the US.

Last week the International

Monetary Fund (IMF) recognized China as the third-largest economy in the world, after the US and Japan. According to the IMF, China posted a dramatic 30.7 percent increase in import growth during the last quarter of 1993, compared with one year earlier.

US businesses of all sizes are eager to secure a greater foothold that market.

China retaliation

Donald Anderson, president of the US-China Business Council, whose membership includes 200 US firms, is wary that a tougher US approach will trigger market-closing retaliation by the Chinese and cause the US to lose ground to global competitors.

In 1992, American companies exported \$7.5 billion worth of largely high-tech goods, including aircraft, computers, oil field drilling equipment, and telecommunications equipment to China.

"Boeing and McDonnell Douglas account for 76 percent of China's imports of commercial aircraft," Mr. Anderson says. "Obviously [the European consortium] Airbus would love to see that market open." Revoking MFN would put some 150,000 jobs for highly skilled workers who manufacture such products in jeopardy, he says.

National Association of Manufacturers President Jerry Jasinowski, whose organization represents 1,250 American manufacturers that account for roughly 80 percent of US industrial output, says Clinton's decision will have a "profound impact" on

US firms, workers, and industrial competitiveness. He urges the president "to articulate a policy toward China that is based upon a stable and predictable commercial relationship, not a conditional one."

"If we believe in the bonds of democracy, we must resolve to strengthen the bonds of commerce," Clinton said during his seminal Feb. 26 American University speech linking US foreign policy goals with international economic priorities.

China's strides toward economic liberalization and opening to the West "will eventually mean greater democratization," says Ralph Clough, coordinator of Johns Hopkins University's China Forum. But imposing sanctions against Beijing, he says, "will simply play into China's hard-liners who have no interest in improving relations with the US."

Maurice Greenberg, chairman and CEO of American International Group - the first foreign insurance company permitted to operate in China - agrees that a policy of commercial engagement with China will lead to greater democratic reforms. China's human rights record should not be the standard for judging its eligibility for MFN, he says.

TO OUR READERS

The Christian Science Monitor will not be published Memorial Day, Monday, May 31, a legal holiday in the United States.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

An International Daily Newspaper

Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcos Registrados.

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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.

Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) - 1 year \$156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) - 1 year \$333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) - 1 year US\$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) - 1 year US\$75, single copy US\$1.50.

ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.

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POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.



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CLOSING THE DOOR

New German Refugee Law Poses Practical Challenges

By Francine S. Kiefer

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

ON paper, the Germans now have a much stricter law allowing them automatically to turn back economic refugees streaming into their country from Eastern Europe.

The law was passed in response to recent violent attacks on asylum seekers' hostels by neo-Nazis and skinheads, who blame Germany's economic struggles on foreigners in the country.

About 70 percent of Germans approve of the new asylum law, and it passed the Bundestag (parliament) 521 to 132 late Wednesday night.

The new law allows German authorities automatically to reject asylum applicants from so-called "safe" countries which Germany considers free from political persecution.

Asylum seekers who arrive here via any of Germany's neighboring countries — all considered "safe" — will be turned back to those countries.

Earlier this month, Poland and Germany sewed up a treaty allowing Germany to turn back asylum seekers who enter Germany via Poland. The Germans agreed to pay Warsaw 120 million deutsche marks (\$74 million) to help the Poles cope with the reverse influx.

In practice, however, implementing the new law will prove difficult for a number of reasons:

■ Eastern neighbors. Despite diplomatic efforts, Bonn has not yet reached agreement with Prague or Vienna on the return of aliens. Germany's eastern neighbors complain that the new law simply shoves the immigration problem further east.

■ Clogged administrations. Officials are already overburdened with a backlog of cases, and authorities still are not handing out decisions as fast as they receive applications. With simpler criteria for deciding asylum cases, the new law should speed the time it takes to process applications, but it will take time to reduce the backlog. Last year, a record 440,000 people applied for political asylum in Germany. In the first four months of this year, 160,000 people applied, up 30 percent from a year ago.

Meanwhile, many asylum seekers arrive without identification or papers. It is tough to send them home when they won't say where they come from or through which countries they traveled to reach Germany.

■ Porous borders. Allowing border guards to automatically turn back asylum seekers is one thing. Catching aliens trying to slip across is another. Most of the asylum seekers arrive in Germany via Poland and the Czech Republic, an open border impossible to adequately police.

According to the German Interior Ministry, the border patrol is short at least 4,000 guards. Officials estimate that four to five times more aliens slip through than are caught.

"The main problem is in implementing the law," says Heiner Wegesin, specialist on the asylum issue for the Christian Democratic Union in the Bundestag. The law takes effect July 1, but Mr. Wegesin estimates it will take nine months to a year "before you see big results."

Although the political will to change Germany's liberal asylum practice grew out of violent attacks by neo-Nazis and skinheads, even moderate Germans now say the country has become overrun by asylum seekers, and that authorities must sift mere economic refugees (over 95 percent of asylum seekers here) from people who are truly politically persecuted.

"This decision is crucial for internal peace in our country," said Wolfgang Schäuble, parliamentary leader of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union.

Still, there is a core group of Germans who strongly oppose abandoning the old liberal law, which was considered a kind of atonement for Nazi crimes.

On Wednesday, 10,000 of these opponents descended on the capital, blocking access to the Bundestag on the Rhine River and forcing parliamentarians to arrive either by ferry or helicopter. For the most part, the demonstrations were peaceful, but about 300 *autonomous*, or anarchists, tried unsuccessfully to storm the Bundestag.

A few members of parliament were assaulted and 13 policemen injured.

INTERNATIONAL

Japanese Troops Abroad Renew Debate at Home

Japan's role in Cambodia is a test for leadership in Asia and at UN

By Clayton Jones

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TOKYO

THE Japanese have not seen anything like it since the end of World War II.

Television images from Cambodia show soldiers from Japan carrying rifles and riding jeeps around southeast Cambodia, ready to fight off anticipated attacks against themselves or, more importantly, Japanese civilians in the area.

The scenes bring back memories of Japan's occupation of much of Asia a half century ago. Only this time, Japan is working under the auspices of the United Nations Transitional Authority for Cambodia (UNTAC). And the threat of attack comes from Khmer Rouge guerrillas, who already have been blamed for killing at least one Japanese and have tried to disrupt this week's UN-sponsored elections.

To many Japanese, however, the details of the Cambodian conflict are not important. What matters more is that their government, by deciding last week to send troops on special forays, may be violating the Constitution. Drafted during the American occupation of Japan following World War II and widely embraced by Japanese, the charter renounces war and any use of force to settle international disputes.

"To deploy troops where an attack is anticipated and to authorize them to fire back is the same thing as using force, as prohibited by the Constitution," a leading politician, Ichiro Ozawa, told the Asahi newspaper.

Mr. Ozawa helped write the 1992 law that attempts to get around the Constitution and allows Japan to participate in the non-combat activities of UN peacekeeping operations. The law was pushed through parliament by the ruling party, against violent opposition after Japan was embarrassed for not sending troops to the Gulf war.

Soon after the law's passage, Japan sent about 600 Army engineers to Cambodia with a mandate only to build roads and bridges. They were assigned to Takeo Province, an area with few if any Khmer Rouge. They were given specific orders on how to

avoid fighting or at most defend themselves minimally if attacked.

But Japan also sent police and election volunteers to help UNTAC, and after two were killed in other parts of Cambodia in recent weeks, emotions and public debate erupted in Japan.

A timid mood emerged. Officials appeared to waver on their commitment to Cambodia. In a nation unaccustomed to shedding blood for international causes, many Japanese wanted the troops to withdraw.

"The emotionalism over the safety of Japanese lives could lead to further use of force," Ozawa warned.

Just how Japan emerges from its difficult role in Cambodia is seen as a litmus test for its ambitions to be a benevolent leader of Asia and a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Singa-

'Sending Japanese troops on UN missions is a confirmation of our commitment to peace, not the thin end of the militarist wedge.'

— Makoto Iokibe, political scientist

pore Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said that a pullout from Cambodia would mean that Japan "will have decided not to play an international role in the future."

One government leader, Post and Telecommunications Minister Junichiro Koizumi, broke ranks and criticized the government, saying the law passed last year meant that Japan "would offer its sweat in any international contribution, but it did not go as far as offering to shed blood."

To head off popular sentiment for a pullout, the government moved quickly to defend its election volunteers and policemen.

Japan asked Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk to return to Cambodia from Beijing, hoping he might persuade the Khmer Rouge not to attack Japanese personnel.

It also asked UNTAC, which is headed by a Japanese, Yasushi Akashi, to move civilians, including Japanese policemen, out of dangerous areas. Japan promised 6,000 bullet-proof vests for UN personnel, and gave \$1.1 million dollars to beef up security.

UNTAC rejected Japan's request to move Japanese policemen to the relative safety of Ph-

nom Penh, not wanting to favor any particular country that had sent personnel to Cambodia. Japan then appealed to UN headquarters that its police must operate under special conditions of Japan's law and cannot take on dangerous assignments.

At the same time, Japan was allowed to station 41 of its election monitors in Takeo, near its own soldiers, which are known as Self-Defense Forces (SDF). In a move widely criticized, the government then began to send the troops out of their safe compound to visit polling stations — officially to collect information to help the SDF build roads.

But, said chief government spokesman Yohei Kono, if Japanese soldiers happen to be in the same place as the Japanese volunteers when an unexpected incident takes place, they may use their weapons not only to protect themselves, but also to protect the Japanese nationals.

"It is utterly unconstitutional ... to call for armed troops to defend Japanese personnel against local hostile nationals. Very plainly, this is just asking for trouble," said a Mainichi newspaper editorial.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa said the "visits" by SDF to Japanese volunteers were meant to assure worried Japanese at home that the volunteers are safe. He added that the Japanese people are coming to realize the difficulty as well as the responsibility of participating in UN peacekeeping.

With UNTAC's mandate running out in August after a new government is formed, Japan hopes to stay in Cambodia as long as other countries.

"Sending Japanese troops over on UN missions is a confirmation of our commitment to peace, not the thin end of the militarist wedge as some alarmists contend," writes Makoto Iokibe, a political science professor at Kobe University. "What we are being asked to do is work with other UN members to heal some of the world's open wounds and give peace a chance."

In the meantime, Japan has sent 48 non-combatant Japanese military personnel to join the UN peacekeeping operation in Mozambique. This is the second time that Japan has deployed troops to work under a UN flag.

*Labor, religious, and political groups mount protests
as US places aid and trade benefits under review*

Guatemalans and US Put Pressure On President to Restore Democracy

By David Clark Scott

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

GUATEMALA CITY

HERE'S a saying here that sums up many Guatemalans' feelings about this week's sudden shift from a troubled democracy to a 'temporary' dictatorship: *Salir de Guatemala para caer en 'Guatepeor.'*

Loosely translated, it means going from "Guate-bad" to "Guate-worse."

While President Jorge Serrano Elías shows no sign of backing away from Tuesday's suspension of congress and the judiciary, diplomatic and economic pressure could make life more difficult for this Central American nation of 9 million people.

Americas Watch, a Washington-based human rights group, has asked the United States to suspend all except humanitarian aid. On May 26, the US State Department announced that the entire \$67 million program of aid for Guatemala is now threatened.

(In fiscal 1992, US development and food assistance totaled about \$47 million; separate economic support funds totaled \$20 million — though only \$9 million of that was actually disbursed. The Guatemalan armed forces also received about \$270,000 worth of military training funds.)

But perhaps more damaging to

the local economy and Mr. Serrano's cause could be the call by US labor rights groups to revoke Guatemalan industry's tariff-free access to the US market for certain products.

"We're calling for the suspension of Guatemala's General System of Preferences [GSP] benefits unless constitutional order is reinstated immediately," says Stephen Coats, director of the US-Guatemala Labor Education Project.

Guatemala's labor practices are already under review by the US Trade Representative's office. A decision to put Guatemala under a six-month review to test compliance with recent labor reforms was expected to be announced by the White House on June 1.

Given Serrano's suspension of the right of public protest and strikes, analysts expect US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor to consider terminating Guatemala's trade benefits.

Last year, some \$200 million worth of Guatemala-made products were exported to the US. Business organizations here say cutting off the GSP could cost Guatemala some 100,000 jobs.

It is not clear yet how Serrano's coup will affect plans for regional free trade pacts. And it's not clear that the business community feels strongly enough to pressure Serrano for a return to democratic rule.

But traditional opposition groups are starting to mobilize. Supreme Court justices signed a resolution declaring Serrano's actions unconstitutional.

Dozens of human rights, religious, labor union, student, and political organizations planned to gather — in violation of Serrano's decree against demonstrations — in the capital's central square Thursday afternoon to present a signed document rejecting Serrano's actions. The pretext for the gathering is to celebrate an open air mass in front of a Roman Catholic cathedral located adjacent to the presidential palace.

"We see a growing consensus among all sectors of Guatemalan society...against Serrano because he has broken the institutional framework of the democracy and we all now stand on shaky ground," says Amilcar Méndez, one of the protest document signers and president of the Council of Ethnic Communities Runujel Junam, an indigenous human rights group.

But labor union leaders are cautious. They want to gauge how much international sympathy (and thus some measure of protection) there is for direct action against Serrano. Although Serrano hasn't completely outlawed union activities, the laws against assembly mean that if more than five people gather without permission, they may be subject to arrest.



POLICE AND ARMY AT NATIONAL CONGRESS BUILDING: President Serrano dissolved the country's congress and judiciary on Tuesday, and shows no sign of backing down from suspension of democratic freedoms.

Indeed, the laws of detention are now sufficiently open that union leaders fear arrest on almost any pretext. "Everyone is taking precautions to prevent being captured. We're not all meeting together, and we're staying in different locations," says Dino Arana of the Union of Guatemalan Workers.

Except for official government news broadcasts and the traditional "crisis" marimba music, commercial radio programming has been suspended.

The government is censoring all nongovernmental media. The independent newspaper Siglo XXI has stopped publishing, rather than accept government censors.

Early Wednesday, the printing plants of local newspapers were cordoned off by hundreds of police in full riot gear to prevent distribution of the papers because they hadn't been vetted by censors.

"Next week, we'll probably have to let the censors in and begin publishing again," says Juan Luis Font, an editor at Siglo XXI. "But there will be blank spaces in the newspaper to mark censored stories. We want our readers to know we believe in democracy and cannot support what is happening," he says.

■ Peter Grier in Washington contributed to this report.

Pakistan's Court Reinstates Ousted Prime Minister Sharif

By Farhan Bokhari

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

NAWAZ SHARIF, who was dismissed as prime minister last month by Pakistan's president, suddenly finds himself returned to power by the country's Supreme Court.

In a 10-1 decision, the court's justices voted Wednesday to absolve Mr. Sharif of corruption charges leveled by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, and restored him to office along with his National Assembly.

This is the first time the court has restored a civilian government in the nation's history. The president last month dissolved the National Assembly and sacked Sharif on corruption charges after a three-month power struggle.

Sharif's 29-month-old government was the third to be dismissed by the president since martial law was lifted in 1984. When former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was removed in 1988, the court found in President Khan's favor and allowed his action to stand.

Ms. Bhutto has been campaigning for a return to power, and last month her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, was named a minister in the interim government that followed Sharif's removal. His inclusion in the interim government brought talk of a rapprochement between Bhutto and the president.

Sharif yesterday sought Bhutto's support to defeat a no-confidence measure to be held in the National Assembly. But Bhutto responded with a challenge: "We will see how much support Sharif has in the house."

There seems little likelihood of cooper-

ation between Sharif and Bhutto, given the latter's support for Khan's action last month.

Analysts here also speculated that Sharif might call early elections to solidify his power base against the president.

A POWER struggle emerged between the two leaders in January, when Sharif announced he would try to repeal the Constitution's Eighth Amendment, adopted under martial law, which gives the president the power to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the government.

It is not clear how the two men, who have become bitter foes, will fare after Sharif's restoration to power.

"We'll strictly abide by the constitution," said Shehbaz Sharif, the prime minister's brother and closest confidante, when asked about the future of the prime

minister's relations with the president. But a senior official, speaking anonymously, said, "There's likely to be trouble when the two leading figures in the country find it hard to talk to each other."

Observers said the court's verdict could mark a turning point in strengthening the democratic tradition in Pakistan after more than 40 years of military rule.

Shortly after the verdict, crowds of jubilant supporters gathered around Sharif's home in Islamabad, shouting slogans of support.

Sharif himself described the event as an important occasion in the country's history, and one which had vindicated him. "The courts have proved that we were right," Sharif told his supporters.

Elsewhere in Pakistan, crowds of Sharif loyalists turned out in Lahore, Sharif's hometown, and distributed sweets to celebrate his comeback.

Heavy Borrowing Perils Britain's Welfare State

By Alexander MacLeod

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

B RITAIN'S welfare spending looks like a prime target as Prime Minister John Major prepares to slash government borrowing, now running at a record £1 billion (US\$1.55 billion) a week.

Despite warnings from Conservative party supporters, he has ordered Michael Portillo, a senior Treasury minister, to examine all aspects of public spending and produce a formula for reducing it by 5 percent after inflation.

Treasury officials say that inevitably means deep cuts in the national health service, reduced welfare benefits to the poor, and an end to middle-class tax breaks.

Among measures being considered in Mr. Portillo's spending review are "hotel charges" of up to £40 a night for beds in public hospitals (currently free to patients); reducing or taxing benefits paid to parents with children up to age 18; and phasing out tax relief on house loans.

Comments by Portillo about possible cuts have been seized upon by opposition Labour party spokesmen. Gordon Brown, Labour's "shadow" chancellor, has spoken of a "betrayal of welfare state principles," and a "callous abandonment of election pledges."

The Conservative government's latest drive to cut spending on the welfare state lacks the ideological zeal of Margaret Thatcher's 12-year premiership. Under Thatcher, a determined attempt was made to reduce citizens' dependence on state benefits and to encourage privately funded medical care and pension schemes.

Mr. Major, a defender of public health care, has made it clear that he is driven not by dogma, but by economic imperatives. He faces a government borrowing need of £50 billion which, if financed by the Bank of England, could force up inflation.

Defending Portillo's wide-ranging search for spending economies, the prime minister said on Tuesday that "we are emphatically not targeting the poorest and most vulnerable members of society. We have a responsibility to them, and we will meet that."

Government sources admit that Portillo's attention is riveted on the big-spending departments of health and social security — the two main elements in the fabric of Britain's welfare state, which together account for nearly half of government spending.

The search for economies is creating problems inside Major's Cabinet and causing disquiet among Conservative MPs.

Virginia Bottomley, the health secretary, is digging her heels in against what departmental officials say is heavy pressure to accept deep spending cuts. In an interview, she said her "bottom line" was a health service which provided care "on the basis of clinical need, not ability to pay."

Peter Lilley, social security secretary, took the step of writing a newspaper article in which he said cuts would be acceptable "only if Parliament and people recognize the need for change."

Some Conservative MPs reacted sharply to Portillo's suggestion on Sunday that free medicine should not be available to people who could afford to pay for it. A senior Conservative backbencher complained: "That kind of approach alienates our middle class supporters.... I sometimes wonder whether Mr. Portillo is being paid by the Labour party."

Howard Glennerster, author of a four-year study of welfare in Britain, said slashing the welfare state could damage the Major government. "It would attack those people who have in the past supported the Conservative party," he said. "The middle class is a major beneficiary of the welfare state."

ECONOMY

In Timber-Industry Conflict, It Is Still Jobs vs. Ecosystem

By Brad Knickerbocker

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ASHLAND, ORE.

T HE Clinton administration's ongoing effort to solve the conflict over timber industry jobs and the spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest comes at a time of great searching within federal land management agencies and the forestry profession.

There is a major shift away from industrial forestry and its focus on "getting out the cut" toward preserving ecosystems. This is evident in a new and controversial research effort by the Society of American Foresters, in the growing reform movement within the United States Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management, and in the White House marching orders to government groups preparing reports to the president due next week.

The administration is not planning a public announcement June 1, the 60-day deadline President Clinton set at the April "forest conference" in Portland, Ore. Instead, according to White House sources, he will consider recommendations by three interagency groups before announcing later in the summer how he intends to proceed.

Clinton will try to keep mills operating through what will be a difficult transition period. This is likely to include thinning national forests that do not include endangered species habitat, as well as salvage-logging east of the Cascade Mountains where infestation, disease, and drought have left trees dead or dying.

"We need a short-term solution to get some logs to the mill," says Mike Wiedeman,

board chairman of an 81,000-member grassroots group called the Oregon Lands Coalition and owner of a small logging company. But even under the most industry-friendly options being considered by Clinton, the level of timber production will never reach the record levels of the 1980s. This means that more mills will shut down with ensuing economic and social disruption. The Forest Service says this year's timber harvest from 10 national forests in northern Califor-

nia is unlikely to exceed one-third the historical average.

While the administration wants to minimize the hardship on timber-dependent families and communities, it appears to be emphasizing science over economics in the search for solutions.

The "mission statement" presented to the scientists and policymakers designing proposals for Clinton, includes the charge to "take an ecosystem approach to forest management and [to] par-

derway by government scientists. "They're pulling together data in a more comprehensive way than has ever been achieved," says Julie Norman, president of Headwaters, an environmental group. Clinton administration signals since the forest conference are less encouraging to many in the timber industry.

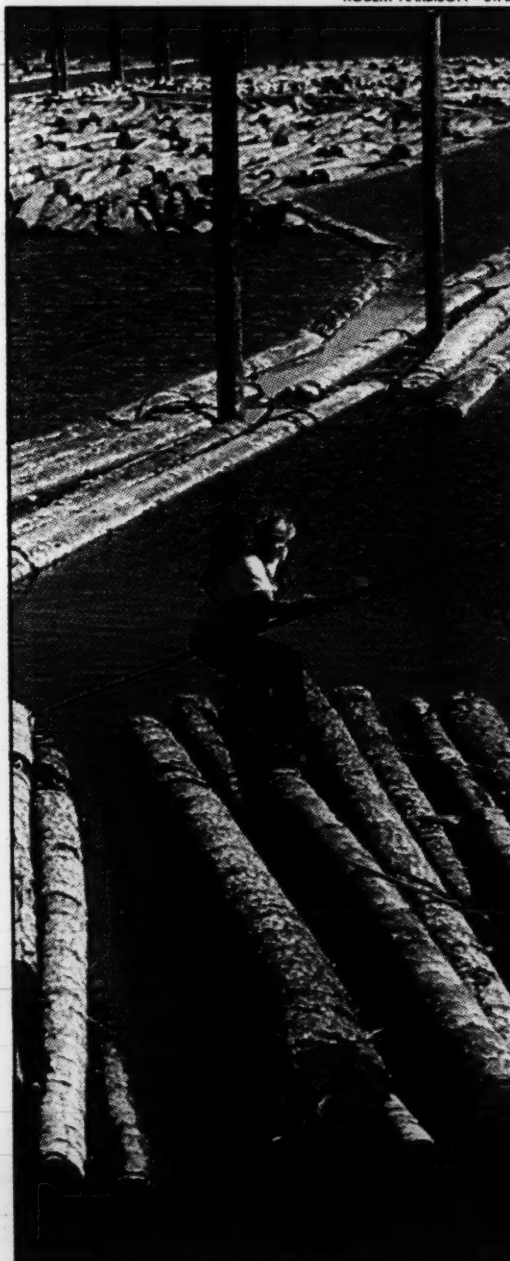
"Our hope and expectation is that the president will stand by his words to find a balanced solution," says Christopher West, vice president of the Northwest Forestry Association. "Based on what we've heard, though, it seems to be the same small group of scientists imposing their view of the world and that's got us disturbed."

As a group, foresters are formally-trained and professionally-inclined to view trees as a crop. For at least three decades professional foresters have advocated "sustained-yield management," which emphasizes timber production. But a task force appointed by the 18,000-member Society of American Foresters recently called for what it termed "quantum changes" to preserve "long-term conservation of environmental quality and ecosystem health."

After more than a year of study, the foresters group urged a shift from sustained-yield to "ecosystem management," which it defines as focusing on "the condition of the forest, with goals of maintaining soil productivity, gene conservation, biodiversity, landscape patterns, and the array of ecological processes."

Within the government agencies managing federal forests, a similar shift in philosophy is occurring. Its most outspoken advocates are found in a group called the "Association of Forest Service Employees for Environmental Ethics," which numbers several thousand members.

The group was highly critical of the Reagan and Bush administrations, which were accused of emphasizing resource extraction over conservation. But this reform effort has been welcomed by administration officials. "Their participation is a good thing," Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt said in a recent interview. "We all want the same thing, which is professional management and good science."



PORT GAMBLE, WASH.: A mill worker at the Pope-Talbot Lumber Company in the Puget Sound region sorts logs to be cut in the mill.

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US Sugarbeet Production Strains Support Program

By Laurent Belsie

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

ADA, MINN.

It is hard to believe the inch-high shoots in Bruce Ogaard's field could stir up such political trouble.

They are sugarbeets — biologically fragile and hard to grow. "It's like baby-sitting an ornery kid," Mr. Ogaard says. But politically, they are tough as nails.

For 12 years, United States sugar producers have protected their crop from the volatile world market. But their success is causing new strains within the powerful sugar lobby. Some critics say it is the beginning of the end for the sugar program.

"It has never been this ticklish," says Tom Hammer, president of the Sweetener Users Association, which represents industrial manufacturers of food and beverage products. "If there's continued good weather, the program is going to be under stress."

But sugar producers in the Red River Valley and elsewhere think they can stick together.

"We always refer to the sugar group as a family," says Luther Markwart of the American Sugarbeet Growers Association. "As one of the six kids, I'm always going to say its OK for me to pick on the other kids. But don't let anyone else from the outside pick on my siblings."

It is the sugar program itself that is causing the family squabble. Instead of being paid for by

taxes, like most farm programs, the sugar program is funded directly by consumers. It does this by setting relatively high domestic sugar prices and then limiting competition by regulating sugar imports. When foreign competitors use these kinds of trade barriers, the US complains loudly. But the US has done this for years with sugar.

The problem is that farmers — particularly sugarbeet producers here — have expanded production so much they've put Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy in a bind.

Sugar prices are so low that Secretary Espy earlier this month reduced imports to their legal minimum — 1.25 million tons a year — and extended it so the program could meet the requirement by averaging the results of two years. But domestic prices barely budged on the news. Unless prices improve soon, many producers are threatening to forfeit their sugar to the government and accept the federal subsidy rather than sell on the market.

Government subsidies

Forfeitures mean the sugar program would start costing taxpayers. And the agriculture secretary is supposed to try to keep that from happening. Many economists believe Espy will soon impose limits on how much sugar producers can sell.

Most producers favor that approach, but not the low-cost farmers and processors in the Red River Valley. "That seems really unfair to us," says Mark Dillon, senior manager with American

Crystal Sugar Company in Moorhead, Minn. Marketing quotas would be based on a couple of drought years in the region.

Some economists suggest the squabble within the industry will intensify. Others say the program could lose public support.

Consumers lose

"If we have marketing allotments in place, there's going to be a lot of screaming going on, not so much from producers but consumer advocates and politicians," says Richard Wistisen, an analyst with Commodity Information Inc., a sugar consulting firm.

There are other cracks in the sugar lobby. Corn-sweetener producers, strong supporters of the sugar program, favor a North American Free Trade Agreement. It would greatly expand their markets. But sugar producers worry the trade deal will give Mexican sugar growers unlimited access to the US market.

"There's a lot of bad feeling on the corn side and the sugar side over NAFTA," says Thomas Earley, of Abel, Daft & Earley, a food and agriculture consultant group.

Will corn-sweetener producers and sugarbeet farmers part ways with the rest of the sugar industry? Don't count on it just yet.

"A rift is probably too strong a term," says Edith Munro, spokeswoman for the Corn Refiners Association Inc. "The determining factor will be what we see out there in world sugar markets."

"I don't think this is any more serious than the problems we've had in the past," adds Mr. Dillon.

Working Pensioners May Pay More Taxes

THE tax bill moving through Congress will tax some working pensioners more on their extra earnings than the rich.

That's what Johnathan Forman, a law professor at the University of Oklahoma, calculates. Enacting the Clinton proposal to tax 85 percent of Social Security benefits for single taxpayers with incomes over a \$25,000 income floor and married couples with income over a \$32,000 floor "would subject thousands of elderly workers to confiscatory tax rates," he told the Senate Finance Committee earlier this month. "Those high tax rates would discourage work and induce premature retirements."

Apparently Mr. Forman's calculation is right, as far as it goes. But one expert points out that pensioners have enormous tax advantages. The average pensioner with a \$30,000 annual income pays on average one-fifth of the taxes of a working person with the same income. Moreover, only around one-fifth of Social Security beneficiaries work. Many of these will not be included among the 22 percent of Social Security pensioners with incomes over \$25,000 for individuals or \$32,000 for couples.

So Forman is talking about the effective "marginal" tax rate on extra dollars earned by a small minority of pensioners. Their overall effective federal tax rate might be one-fifth as high, the expert calculates.

Forman offers as his prime example a hypothetical "George," a single individual, aged 65, who receives \$25,000 per year in taxable pension and investment income and \$10,000 per year in Social Security benefits. George works during the Christmas rush at Macy's department store and earns an additional \$1,000. That \$1,000 would be subject to federal income tax at the 28 percent rate and Social Security taxes at the 7.65 percent rate.

In addition, the Clinton proposal would cause another \$850 of his Social Security benefits to be taxed at the 28 percent rate. (Under current law it is 50 percent, or \$500 in this case.) All in all, on his \$1,000 of earnings George would have to pay the federal government \$594.50 in taxes and keep just \$405.50. That's an effective marginal tax rate of 59.45 percent. It is more than the 42.65 percent that the rich will have to pay under the Clinton plan when Social Security and income taxes are combined. State and local taxes are not included.

Another pensioner, aged 65 to 69, making enough to be hit by the Social Security retirement earnings test, could face a marginal tax rate of 69 percent on his earned income, Forman notes.

John Rother, legislative director of the American Association of Retired Persons, is more concerned about the fully-retired middle-income pensioner than the relatively small number in "George's" category. He figures that about 6 million of those over 65 will face an average hike of \$1,000 in their annual taxes under the Clinton proposal. "This is quite substantial," he says. It would raise \$24 billion over five years, the government estimates.

To help those in the \$30,000- to \$50,000-income bracket, the AARP is pushing for an increase in the threshold for taxation of Social Security benefits of \$10,000. This, Mr. Rother says, would mean that most of those paying income tax in the 15 percent bracket would escape an increase in those taxes. This would cut the number of affected retirees to about 3 million. But because the better-off retirees would be subject to the 85 percent provision, the revenue gain would be reduced by one-third to about \$16 billion. "That is still a substantial contribution to deficit reduction," Rother says. He doesn't want to see the bill scuttled.

The AARP figured it would lose the battle for this change in the House. So the 33-million-member association will concentrate on the Senate when it resumes debate on the tax bill after the Memorial Day congressional recess. "We think we have a shot at winning in the Senate," Rother reckons.

Forman, more than 20 years away from retirement, has no qualms about taxing Social Security benefits, noting that most such pensioners did not contribute nearly enough Social Security taxes during their working years to pay for their pension benefits. He sees it as fair to eliminate the \$25,000 and \$32,000 floors and tax 85 percent of all Social Security benefits. This would reduce the marginal income tax rate to a maximum 28 percent. And it would raise \$112.5 billion over five years.

Good economic theory, maybe. But it won't sing in Congress.

DAVID R. FRANCIS



Fill 'Er Up: Prices at the Pump Are Good

By Scott Armstrong

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

AMERICANS planning vacations by car this summer will find modest prices at the gasoline pump.

While the summer driving season — the peak period for gasoline demand — usually results in higher prices, this year's increases will be minimal, if there are any at all.

Prices are starting the season at the lowest rate in three years. "I think prices are going to be very stable," says Michael Doyle of Computer Petroleum Corp., a St. Paul, Minn., firm that tracks

gas prices.

The average price of all grades of gasoline is \$1.12 per gallon — down from \$1.29 last May and \$1.24 the year before, according to the latest Lundberg Survey. Citing stable oil prices, ample gasoline stocks at the refinery level, and less-than-robust demand, analysts say they expect few fluctuations this summer.

"I don't expect to see a trend up or down in the immediate future," says Trilby Lundberg, president of the Los Angeles-based survey. "Bargain prices, higher quality gasoline, and greater competition for consumer loyalty" is what we're seeing, he says.

If there is an increase, analysts say it will be less than a nickel a gallon. A big jump in automobile

travel and other types of consumption could push the prices up higher. But few observers expect that to happen when the country is still trying to shrug off recession. And even if demand were to suddenly jump, Europe has ample gasoline stocks to ship over.

The other perennial unknown, of course, is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Yet nothing there suggests a sudden drop in oil production by members that could lead to a price rise at the pump.

"Barring anything unusual in the Middle East, there is no reason to expect an uptick in gasoline prices this year," says Bob McNally, an oil analyst at Energy Security Analysis in Washington.



FREEZE FRAMES

A weekly update of film releases

By David Sterritt

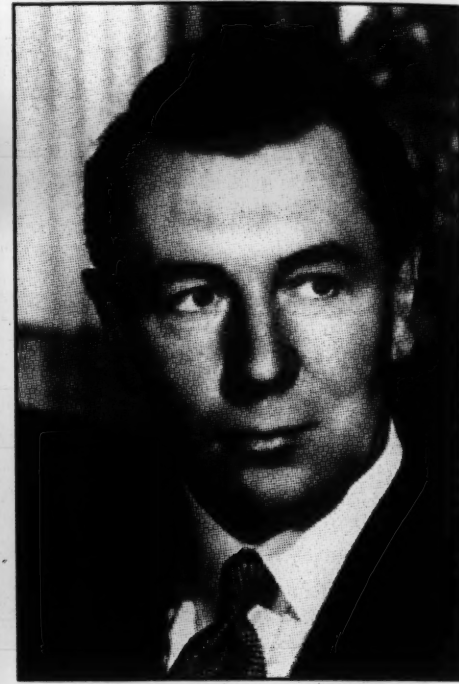
■ CHILDREN OF FATE

In the early 1960s, the filmmaking team of Michael Roemer and Robert M. Young made a documentary about Sicilian poverty for NBC television, which then refused to put their disturbing depiction on the air. Two years ago another team composed of Susan Todd and Young's son, Andrew Young, made their own visit to the Italian locations where the earlier group had filmed; there they created an updated report on the situation, centering on the same homemaker whose challenges and sorrows had been the main focus of "Cortile Cascino," the original movie. Representing two generations of American filmmakers exploring three generations of an Italian family, the new picture is deeply compassionate and superbly photographed, even if it doesn't make many truly memorable observations about its many-faceted subject, which has political and sociological implications as well as a great deal of emotional impact. (Not rated)

■ THE CHARGE AT FEATHER RIVER

— Guy Madison and Vera Miles star in this 1953 western, now reissued in its original 3-D format, about a handsome hero and a band of slovenly soldiers who ride to the rescue of two white women who've been captured by Indians, only to find that one of the captives doesn't want to be saved at all. The plot recalls one of the greatest westerns ever made, "The Searchers" with John Wayne, and while this picture isn't nearly as brilliant, it was made three years earlier and may have influenced some aspects of the classic that followed in its footsteps. Directed by Gordon Douglas, one of the most solid and underrated of Hollywood professionals. The vintage supporting cast includes Frank Lovejoy and Henry Kulky, and the 3-D cameras have a field day with flying spears, galloping hooves, and various other items aimed in the general direction of the audience. (Not rated)

THEATER



'SHAKESPEARE FOR MY FATHER': British actress Lynn Redgrave pays tribute to the family acting dynasty, which began with Sir Michael Redgrave (above) and extends to sister Vanessa and nieces Natasha and Joely Richardson. In her one-woman show, Redgrave weaves anecdotes with passages from the Bard.

A Daughter Makes Peace With Past

Lynn Redgrave's Tony-nominated performance in 'Shakespeare for My Father' strikes a chord

By Tony Vellela

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

FRESH from her Tony nomination for best actress, Lynn Redgrave settles back into the flower-print sofa, backstage at New York's Helen Hayes Theatre. "Shakespeare for My Father," the one-woman show she conceived and wrote that chronicles her relationship with her famed British actor father, Michael Redgrave, has just had its run extended, and she is enjoying a light dinner between matinee and evening shows.

"After my father's death in 1985, people — complete strangers — would say 'I'm sorry about your father,' and then invariably they would talk about their own fathers," she recalls. In 1991, when the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington invited her to do a special program commemorating the 60th anniversary of the formation of the Shakespeare Society, an idea was born.

Instead of a simple evening of best-loved Shakespeare passages peppered with anecdotes, the actress seized the opportunity to fashion a short play, interspersing family history, theater lore, and well-known speeches. The evening was a great success and sparked a plan to expand it into full production. Given that the Folger audience was made up of Shakespeare aficionados, she wondered "would

it play in Oklahoma?" It did. Following a tour through the United States, "Shakespeare for My Father" opened to critical and public acclaim on Broadway in April.

Redgrave's career has taken her from recognition in the 1966 film "Georgy Girl" while still a teenager, through years of classical and contemporary theater work in New York and London. Included along the way were such diverse projects as television situation comedy and the recent PBS Masterpiece Theatre miniseries "Calling the Shots."

This newest project, however, ties together personal and professional elements. She summoned the courage to explore her feelings about her father, by all accounts a distant, remote, and frequently absent parent.

"What is this relationship with this man, your father, who is the first man in your life?" she asked herself, recognizing from those initial comments following his death that almost everyone had some part of their lives touched by that most basic relationship.

"A search for a father is a fairly universal theme, and while this is about a daughter searching for a father, an equal number of men come up to me. You know, I wanted a 'Little House on the Prairie' father. People would tell me how he'd been the life and soul of the party, and all I could feel was the most bitter jealousy and anger because that had not been my experience with him at all."

What audiences appreciate

about "Shakespeare for My Father" is Redgrave's easy transitions between storytelling about her four-generation theater family, and the various selections she has chosen from the Bard's plays, woven together to sketch out the actress's life and feelings. The play is directed by her husband John Clark and performed on a spare stage with only a large wooden trunk, an armchair, a rug, and a portrait of her father.

Audiences with no more knowl-

'People would tell me how [my father] had been the life and soul of the party, and all I could feel was the most bitter jealousy and anger....'

— Lynn Redgrave

edge of Shakespeare than what is commonly taught in high school can readily enjoy the play's full meaning. Although many Americans believe that the English are better versed in Shakespeare, she points out that "they really aren't." And, she adds with a smile, "American audiences listen better."

Between bites of steamed vegetables and rice, she remembers her first trip to the United States, after the opening of "Georgy Girl."

"That was a once-in-a-lifetime giant role for a character actress. I

knew there wouldn't be many of them, that I'd be the supporting clown for the rest of my life if I didn't get out of that situation."

People assumed she and the character were the same. So she lost weight, took a job in the play "Black Comedy," and began the process of reinventing herself. She was inspired by the work of British actresses Dorothy Tutin and Peggy Ashcroft, as well as Australian Zoe Caldwell, who joined the Royal Shakespeare Company in London. "And I was a great Jeanne Moreau fan. I saw everything she did."

She does credit her father with giving some of the best advice possible to a young actor when she was starting out: "Work breeds work."

"If you have a choice between a not-so-good part, and no part, take that part, and do something with it. And you never know what it might lead to." And in fact, her initial decision to expand the Folger project into something more substantial testifies to that wisdom.

Redgrave's relationship with her father was strained until just before his death, when she got beyond his personal failings.

"I needed to forgive myself for feeling guilty about the bad thoughts I had about him," she says. "He was what he was, for better or worse, a difficult, tortured man who could be the joy of people's hearts or the nightmare of your life. It was his tragedy that he couldn't talk to me. It really wasn't mine. That was the growth on my part."

FILM

*An unusually diverse panel of judges
seems to have resolved its indecisiveness by handing out
the French festival's equivalent of five Oscars for 'best picture'*

Cannes Prize Jury Bestows Many Palms

By David Sterritt

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CANNES, FRANCE

THERE'S no such thing as an unanimous opinion at the Cannes Film Festival, or at any filmfest I've ever heard of. Just when you think you've seen the worst movie of all time, along comes someone who's convinced that it's a gem – and who also has a dismayingly cogent argument to prove that your favorite masterpiece is a piece of junk.

Critics thrive on such debates, and one of the reasons festivals give prizes is to cut through this contention and take an unambiguous stand on the year's best achievements – even if the main result is to stir up yet another round of argument focusing on the awards and the experts who bestowed them.

Yet the jury at the just-concluded Cannes festival seemed as indecisive as anyone who attended the event. Instead of boldly declaring one winner for the grand prize, it split the coveted Golden Palm between two movies – and handed out a special Jury Prize to two more, as well as a Grand Jury Prize to still another film. It's as if five movies walked off with an Oscar for best picture.

In principle, there's nothing wrong with this outcome. Juries inevitably must

choose between celluloid apples and oranges, and recognize a wide range of worthy achievement is a valid way of minimizing the contradictions built into this process.

Complicating the situation at Cannes was the varied nature of this year's jury, which ranged from Italian actress Claudia Cardinale and Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami to French cinematographer William Lubtchansky and American producer Tom Luddy, among others. After the awards ceremony, I spoke with filmmaker Louis Malle, who presided over the jury, and he used the word "bizarre" to describe its extreme diversity. He also stressed the friendliness of their deliberations, though, and seemed generally pleased with the result of their labor.

Most critics and film-industry members seemed content, as well, especially with the two Golden Palms winners: "The Piano," by New Zealand filmmaker Jane Campion, and "Farewell to My Concubine," by Chinese director Chen Kaige, both among the festival's most widely popular offerings. In honoring them together, the jury recognized the great cultural and geographical variety of today's cinema – and broke new ground by awarding the Golden Palm to a woman filmmaker and a Chinese filmmaker for the first time.

Made on a modest budget with an international cast, "The Piano" tells the story of a 19th-century woman who never speaks

but expresses her thoughts in sign language and music. When she enters an arranged marriage with a rural landowner, her beloved piano falls into the hands of an illiterate neighbor, who subjects her to sexual blackmail until the two of them recognize each other's higher qualities and fall in love.

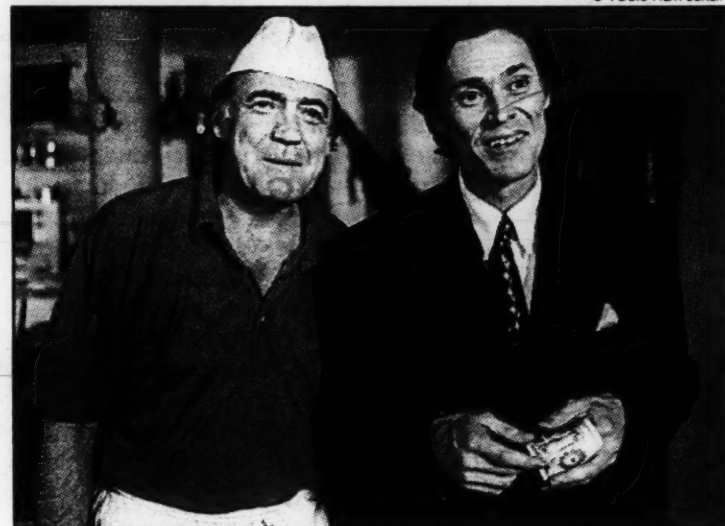
The film has a broad emotional range, with surprisingly explicit lovemaking scenes as well as subtly expressive images of sea, sky, and forest. Holly Hunter won the Cannes award for best female performance.

"Farewell to My Concubine" is a sweeping look at modern Chinese history, viewed through the experiences of two opera stars. Set early in this century, the brilliant first hour shows the harsh training of children who hope to become opera performers, and suggests that the authoritarianism of Chinese communism has roots in much older traditions. The third hour is similarly vivid, showing the brutality of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76).

While these portions of the movie use personal and cultural affairs to approach political problems, the middle hour lapses into the merely personal – a melodramatic love triangle – and forms a regrettably weak bridge between the more effective episodes. The movie as a whole is very imposing, however, and is positively riveting at its best.

Also laudable are both of the Jury Prize winners. "The Puppet-master," by Taiwanese filmmaker Hou Hsiao-Hsien, recounts the true story of a renowned puppeteer during the decades when Taiwan was under Japanese occupation. Bathed in Mr. Hou's rigorous visual style – with characters moving eloquently through long, immaculately composed shots – this delicate drama also has a glowing emotional resonance that Hou's recent work has lacked.

More feisty but equally moving is "Raining Stones," by British director Ken Loach, who pursues his usual social and political interests through the unpredictable story of a jobless man's determination to buy his little daughter a new dress. It's funny,



'FARAWAY, SO CLOSE!': German director Wim Wenders' follow-up to his popular 'Wings of Desire' was a film that few beside the Cannes judges seemed ready to praise. It won a Grand Jury prize.

touching, and thoughtful.

With so many first-rate movies to honor, it's amazing that the Cannes jurors didn't quit while they were ahead. But they proceeded to bestow a Grand Jury Prize on "Faraway, So Close!" by German director Wim Wenders, a movie that few outside the jury wanted to praise. Made as a follow-up to Mr. Wenders' popular "Wings of Desire," about an angel who loves humans so much that he becomes one, the new picture is wildly uneven and much, much too long.

Far more respected was British filmmaker Mike Leigh's new picture, "Naked," a ferocious look at contemporary European social problems. It earned the best-director prize for Mr. Leigh and a richly deserved best-actor award for David Thewlis, whose explosive performance was the talk of Cannes.

NOW that the hoopla has subsided and the prizewinners are polishing their trophies, will the awards earned here translate into box-office windfalls worldwide?

It is generally agreed that a prize at Cannes is good for a burst of respect from the critics, a burst of envy from the industry, and a burst of attention from the international press – followed by a general apathy from most everyday moviegoers, who are more interested in opening-day newspaper and television reviews than in exotic awards bestowed by heterogeneous juries at faraway festivals.

All the top prizewinners are certain to arrive soon on theatrical screens in the United States and elsewhere, from a probable hit like "The Piano" to a sure-fire bomb like "Faraway, So Close!" and harder-to-predict offerings like the Asian and British pictures.

The fortunes of these movies are now in the hands of the filmgoing public – the ultimate jury, and the one filmmakers care the most about.



WINNERS: (L. to r.) Holly Hunter was best actress for 'The Piano'; actor Sam Neill holds Jane Campion's Golden Palm for 'The Piano'; Chen Kaige of China was co-winner for his 'Farewell to My Concubine.'

SPORTS

Sydney's Olympic Bid for 2000 Games

By Catherine Foster

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SYDNEY

WHEN Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), visited Sydney earlier this month, his limo made the 25-minute trip from downtown to the Olympic site in 17 minutes.

With a little phone call from the driver to the traffic control center, stoplights were magically synchronized. That's the Sydney Olympics 2000 bid for you: Remove every conceivable obstacle.

Sydney is trying to convince the IOC that despite its location, it has what it takes: It's beautiful, modern, surrounded by a sparkling harbor graced with both the Opera House and the Harbor Bridge. It's stable, safe, friendly, and multicultural.

Sports-mad Australia has sent athletes to every Games since 1896. It has bid three times for the Games: Melbourne won in 1956; Brisbane ('92) and Melbourne (again, for '96), did not. Polls show 90 percent of the people support the bid.

Like athletes who review game films in order to improve, Sydney officials are learning from past Olympics. For example, they persuaded local hotel owners to sign a legally-binding contract that would cap room rates for the duration of the Games, to avoid the price-gouging that occurred in Barcelona, Spain.

The heart of Sydney's "Share the Spirit" plan is Sydney Olympic Park, a giant development at Homebush Bay, 8-1/2 miles from the city center. It combines the A\$300 million (US\$208 million) athletic and aquatic facilities with an Olympic village.

Ground has already been broken on the facilities, which will be built whether or not Sydney gets the 2000 Games. Sydney Olympic Park will include an 80,000-seat stadium with state-of-the-art security cameras, a 15,000-seat indoor arena, tennis center, baseball center, velodrome, and equestrian center.

THE Greenpeace organization supports the plan's environmental guidelines, which cover everything from construction to catering. The group even participated in the Olympic Village's design, which will use solar power, ozone-friendly refrigerators, water recycling, and public transportation. Some buildings are designed not to require air conditioning.

To win, a city needs a strong plan and a focus, and Sydney is focusing on athletes' needs. For the first time in Olympic history, all 10,000 athletes and 5,000 officials would be housed in one village. The Olympic Park will hold 14 of the 25 sports; more than 60 percent of the athletes could walk to their events.

Rod McGeoch, the tall, debonair chief executive of Sydney's bid, says they aim to appeal to "old athletes" on the IOC — the ones who remember traveling hours from Olympic villages to train or compete.

"There's an IOC member in Finland who's been to six Olympic Games, who's never able to stay in an Olympic village where all his friends were because he was a yachtsman," McGeoch says. "That's why we call it 'the athletes' Games.'"

The proposed timing (Sept. 16-Oct. 1) is designed to fit with TV schedules, athletes' training, and comfort level. "More than 120 years of meteorological data tell us that September is consistently the driest month," says Hamish Fraser, spokesman for the Sydney bid.

But if the bid organizers have solved the "tyranny of distance" between the athletes and their venues, there's still the matter of getting people to Sydney. It's a 13-hour flight from Los Angeles, 9 or 10 hours from Tokyo, and 24 from London. So the Organizing Committee will pay travel expenses for the athletes, officials, and Olympic freight, to the tune of \$30 million.

Bid officials expect to at least break even on the Games, which are budgeted at A\$1.697 billion (US\$1.175 billion). Revenue is estimated at A\$1.7 billion, most of it from TV broadcasting rights. Several columnists here question whether US television networks will offer that kind of money, especially after NBC lost \$100 million covering the Barcelona Games last year.

The IOC will announce its decision in September. Sydney's bid is considered strong. The other cities in the running are Beijing (considered Sydney's main contender; see accompanying story, right); Manchester, England; Istanbul; Berlin; and Brasilia.



GOLD MEDALIST: China's Li Xiaoshuang is seen in the men's individual floor exercises in last summer's Olympics.

China Seeks the Spotlight

As a hopeful sports superpower, it faces a newcomer's problems

By Sheila Tefft

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BEIJING

HUANG YUBIN was not pleased with star gymnast and Olympic gold-medalist Li Xiaoshuang.

As Mr. Li landed in a forceful dismount from the horse vault, Mr. Huang, the men's gymnastics coach, shook his head. "Review those [video] tapes," Huang shouted. "Your shoulders should be more upright."

Up since 6 a.m. — chiding, applauding, and prodding China's elite gymnasts — the coach still faced hours more work as the evening light faded in the small, dreary gymnasium.

Working such a regimen at abysmal salaries has driven many other Chinese coaches overseas in recent years. Huang, who received more than \$30,000 in government bonuses for training Olympic medal-winners, stays on but frets over the athletic exodus.

"There are many problems of brain drain," he says, estimating that almost 100 Chinese coaches have left for the prosperity of the West. "If China had tapped all those coaches, then we might have better performers today."

China's grooming of new champions is driven by the ambitions of an aspiring sports superpower but clouded by the troubles of being a newcomer to international athletics.

Since Ping-Pong diplomacy returned an isolated China to the world stage in the 1970s, Chinese sports have grabbed attention around the world and become intertwined with politics and national pride at home.

Today, as China strives to regain international stature after the political upheaval of 1989, an almost frenzied quest for supremacy colors the sports scene here. In what has become a furious diplomatic and propaganda campaign, Beijing is locked in a tight race with Sydney to stage the 2000 Summer Olympics. (See accompanying story, left.)

Officials to visit

Eager to cement market-style reforms, China boasts a booming economy to lure crucial Olympic commercial sponsorships and an Asian stage for the 2000 Summer Games. But its infrastructure and sports facilities lag behind international standards, and an expected political succession struggle casts uncertainty over its bid.

Earlier this month, China scrambled to put its best foot forward for Olympic officials visiting the East Asian Games in Shanghai, widely viewed here as a practice run for a Beijing Olympics. Having staged the Asian Games in 1990, China hopes to follow in the footsteps of Japan and South Korea, which were both sites of the Asian Games and the Olympics.

Producing sports stars is also serious business and starts early.

In a system that has been likened to that of Eastern Europe, especially the former East Germany, young children are plucked from their families, placed in special sports schools, and lead Spartan lives of training and competition.

But troubles still bedevil Chinese sports. The specter of drug abuse hangs over its swimmers and other athletes who have been banned from international competition. Critics among international sports officials and coaches from other countries draw parallels to drug-laden East German successes. They blame drug use on pressures to catch up quickly in international competition, and say telltale signs of steroid and other drug use (acne, prominent jaws, extremely muscular thighs) are particularly evident among Chinese women swimmers.

Chinese athletes and coaches say they are asked about the charges by other participants at international competitions and consider the allegations an acute embarrassment. "Such accusations have done damage to the image of Chinese athletes," says Qian Kui, head coach of the gymnastics team, "and are a disgrace to Chinese athletics as a whole."

Stung by the repeated charges, Chinese sports officials say they oppose drug abuse and are spending \$1 million yearly on drug testing and opening an international drug-testing center. Warnings against steroid use are now prominently displayed in Chinese training facilities.

Humility Is Motivation Key, Pat Riley Says

NEW YORK

HOW does the National Basketball Association's Coach of the Year motivate his players? According to New York Knicks coach Pat Riley, it's not with money, promises of fame, or the threat of being traded.

No, it's humility.

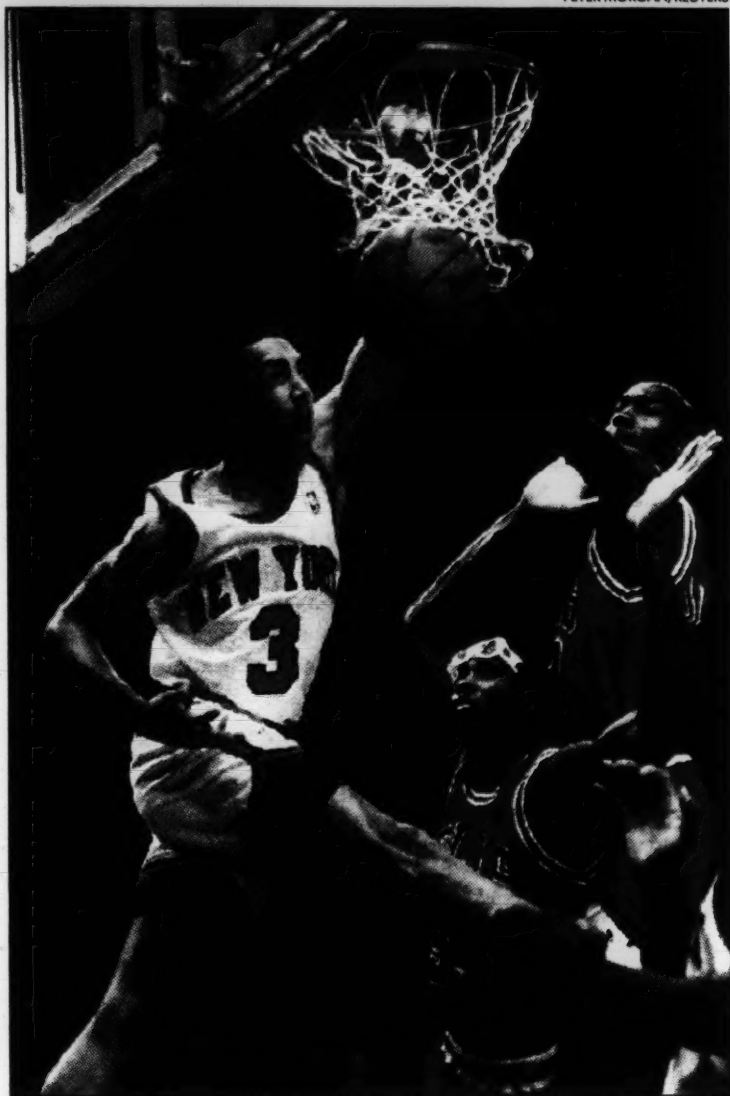
"We have to learn that in order to achieve greatness," said Riley in a Monitor interview, "you have to almost ... be humble before you get humility. And our guys are beginning to develop that spirit."

Some of that humility showed up Tuesday night after the Knicks beat the Chicago Bulls, 96 to 91, to lead the series 2-0. (Game 3 of the best-of-seven series is tomorrow in Chicago.) Knicks players had nothing but praise for the Bulls' Michael Jordan, even though his shooting has been off. "He's just a great basketball player," said Knicks guard Doc Rivers.

Some multi-season observers of Riley say the coach teaches more than humility: Former Detroit Piston center Bob Lanier says Riley has a way of making the players "feel good about themselves" and to feel good about being Knicks. Cal Ramsey, a former Knicks player, now director of community relations for the team, says Riley uses the same formula that helped him win four championships in Los Angeles: "hard work, conditioning, teamwork, and togetherness."

Many teams have that ethic. But what separates Riley from other coaches, says veteran broadcaster Marv Albert of the Madison Square Garden Network, is that "he has the ability to say the right thing at the right time." A lot of players tune out after a while, Albert says, because they've heard it all before. But not with Riley.

During games, Riley is on his feet nearly as



DUNK: Knicks guard John Starks scores crucial basket against Bulls' Horace Grant (c.) and Michael Jordan (r.) in May 25 game.

much as the players. He prowls the sidelines, waving instructions and acting like a frustrated point guard. A game official thought he had gotten too far onto the court Tuesday night, and slapped the Knicks with a delay-of-game penalty. Riley joked later that the penalty may have saved a Chicago three-pointer: Bulls guard B.J. Armstrong was wide open.

— Ron Scherer

Contending that the drug charges stem from jealousy over China's successes, officials say no one deliberately takes drugs and instead blame cases on the use of Chinese herbal medicines, many of whose compositions are unknown, and on lack of knowledge among Chinese competitors.

"Scientifically, China is less developed than other countries. Our awareness of drug use and efforts against drug use came later than efforts in the United States or Germany or other countries," says Gao Daan, vice-director of the National Research Institute of Sports Science.

"The use of drugs in sports events is just like an addiction.... It's impossible to do away with it completely," he continues. "It is hard.... There are still cases."

But Chinese protestations get little sympathy in sports circles. Many international athletic organizations are launching expensive and controversial blood-test-

ing during training to improve monitoring.

Chinese sports ambitions also have been hindered by limited resources, officials and coaches say. Increasingly China has been forced to turn to unemployed coaches from the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries.

Soviet coaches recruited

Huang Jian, former head coach of the track and field team, said in a Monitor interview that he has recruited more than two dozen former Soviet coaches in cycling, swimming, weightlifting, and track and field for China.

At the gymnastics training center in Beijing, Olympic gold-medalist Lu Li practiced the dance moves learned from a Russian coach.

"The [former Soviet] and Romanian gymnasts are good at horse vaulting and floor exercises, so I would like to learn from

them," says the elfin 16-year-old.

Compared with the lives of many in this still-poor country, athletics is a lucrative way of life and a passport out of rural poverty for many athletes.

Like the rest of China, rapid economic growth is also changing the world of sports. Economic reforms are drawing new funding from state and private companies to supplement limited government resources and even prompting the emergence of a network of professional clubs in soccer and other sports.

Chinese coaches and athletes say economic change will bring new commercial opportunities along the lines of product endorsements in the West. With just one more Olympics ahead of him, 20-year-old Li already is making plans to go into business.

"The market economy will bring benefits to athletes commercially," he says. "When that changes, I'll retire."

When an athletic TV show calls for contestants, our man decides to try — and reconsiders: a sports 'postcard'

So, You Want To Be a Gladiator...

By Scott Armstrong

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

STUDIO CITY, CALIF.

WHEN I first read the one-paragraph blurb in the paper that the TV show "American Gladiators" was holding tryouts for contestants, I half expected Peter O'Toole to show up in a toga.

As it turned out, the joke was on me. I found this out soon enough when it took me a half hour to park. I ended up in a slot seven blocks away and followed a horde of this city's best and bulgiest as they walked, in Spandex tights and tank tops, toward an asphalt lot behind a CBS studio here.

Two thousand showed up. It had to be the biggest display of pectoral pride since Jack LaLanne swam San Francisco Harbor on his 60th birthday in handcuffs and shackles while towing a 1,000-pound boat with a rope clenched in his teeth.

It shouldn't have surprised me. "American Gladiators," the TV show in which ordinary mortals go up against Mr. T types with telegenic smiles in various primal competitions, is one of the top 5 weekly syndicated series on television.

The show is sort of respectable professional wrestling. Each week lawyers, nurses, cops, and others compete in events like the "human cannonball," in which contestants swing on ropes and try to knock gladiators off elevated platforms, and the "joust," in which they pummel one other with giant Q-tips. The gladiators are the iron-torsoed regulars whom the guests compete against.

I was going to try out, but jettisoned that idea when I could find no one with an arm smaller in circumference than my thigh. More than likely I would have flunked the first test, doing 24 pull-ups in 30 seconds (women had to do seven).

Of four fitness tests, the chin-ups were the hardest. Some 80 percent never made it to the second event, the 40-yard dash, which men had to do in less than five seconds and women in less than six. After that, there was a rope climb and a sideways run.

Those who survived the boot-camp gauntlet got to play "powerball," one of the events on the show. Judges weren't interested in who won the game but in who showed agility. A select few were chosen to be interviewed and videotaped.

As Executive Producer Julie Resh put it: "They don't have to have star charisma, but we're looking for someone who can answer a question in more than one word."

I caught up with Rory Mosley after he had just failed the rope climb by a few inches. Mr. Mosley is an aerospace engineer with a chest big enough to show a movie on. He trained only three weeks for the competition, but normally works out five days a week, enough to allow him to bench-press 400 pounds.

"I watch the show," he says. "I looked at those guys and said, 'Why not? I think I can do it.'"

The tryouts amount to a mini-Olympics for Walter Mittys. They attract ex-jocks, current jocks, body builders, doctors, firefighters, the old, the young, bureaucrats, bouncers, those who should be bouncers — all dreaming of a shot at the limelight.

Mingling with the participants are some of the show's gladiators, testaments to what a lot of time at Gold's Gym can do. One, "Sabre" (Red Williams), played professional football and holds a black belt in karate.

Does he see anyone here who would intimidate him by swinging a giant Q-tip? "I want the biggest, the baddest, the most confident," he says. "That makes for better TV."

After hours of grunts, groans, and rope burns, 150 make it to the final interview. They still aren't in Hulk Hogan heaven: Only 48 contenders will be chosen — from five city competitions.

The finalists, it turns out, aren't that big. The pullups and sprints seem to winnow out those built like condominiums. Show producers confirm the "grand champion," the overall winner each year, is usually about 5 ft., 10 in., and 180 lbs.

My guess is the men aren't all that big, either.

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Alan Bunce

■ SATURDAY

The Bear (ABC, 8-10 p.m.): Even for the movies it's something unusual, and for prime-time TV, it's startling: a film that views things through the eyes of animals, to the extent that's possible. Dealing with an orphaned bear cub and a giant Kodiak bear that becomes its reluctant companion, this 1988 French production made a huge hit in Europe and received some rave reviews from American critics. Several years in the making, it boasts top talent and a big budget (around \$100 million).

■ Commencement speeches

(C-Span, 10:30-11:30 p.m., E.T.): President Clinton's address (live) at West Point. (C-Span, Noon to 1 p.m., E.T.): Gloria Steinem's talk (live) from Wellesley College.

■ SUNDAY

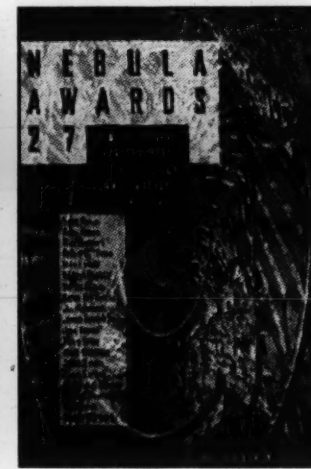
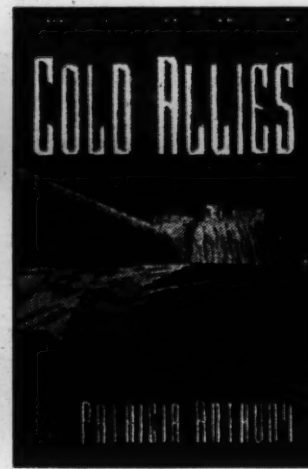
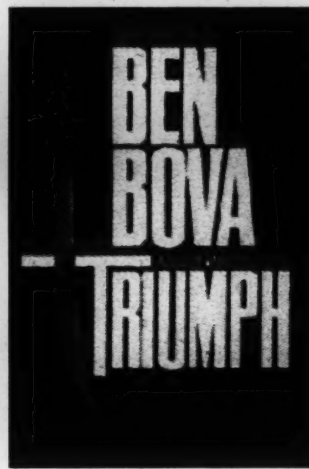
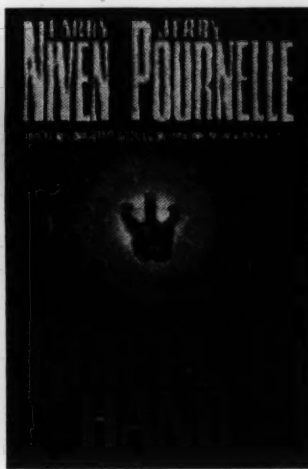
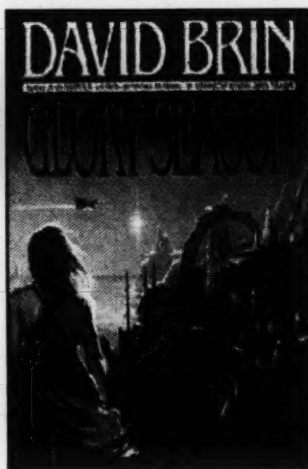
The Indianapolis 500 (ABC, 11 a.m.-3:30 p.m., E.T.): The 77th running of auto racing's big event is aired live from the Indianapolis Motor Speedway, with 1992's defending champion, Al Unser Jr., among the top drivers competing. Don't mention this in the presence of hard-core fans, but in case you can't spare the whole 4 1/2 hours to watch cars go round and round, it's OK to tune in and out of the event - you'll still be able to keep up with it. (The program will not be carried in the Indianapolis area.)

■ MONDAY

National Memorial Day Concert (PBS, 7:30-9 p.m., E.T.): The 10th anniversary of the Vietnam Memorial and the 40th of the end of the Korean War are both marked in this year's version of the traditional tribute, offered annually in honor of women and men who have served in the armed forces. Airing live from the West Lawn of the United States Capitol, the program includes music and the spoken word, and it has an agreeable lineup of stars, such as folk-singer Judy Collins, clarinetist Pete Fountain (a one-man argument for New Orleans-style jazz), and the world-renowned Boys Choir of Harlem. Guest conductor Erich Kunzel leads the National Symphony Orchestra, and the host is E.G. Marshall.

Please check local listings for all programs, especially those on PBS.

BOOKS



In Sci-Fi, a Changing of the Guard

By James D. Hornfischer

ISAAC ASIMOV and Robert Heinlein are gone. Arthur C. Clarke, last of science fiction's grand triumvirate, uses collaborators to write his novels and has seen publication of his authorized biography. The day has finally come: Science fiction is entering the Post-Grandmaster Age.

Rest assured that the future of futuristic literature lies in capable hands. Anyone perusing the bookstores this spring will find a cornucopia of excellent reading from which to choose.

The genre's publishing event of the year is Asimov's swan song - the final volume of that cornerstone of science fiction's canon, the "Foundation" series. Inspired by Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," the youthful Asimov imagined a future galactic empire comprising 25 million worlds. The premise of the series raised an intriguing question: What if a new science - psychohistory - could be developed to predict the course of the empire and to forestall its impending fall?

In this last volume of the series, "Forward the Foundation," Asimov tells the story of psychohistory's inventor, Hari Seldon, a figure of ancient legend in the series's previous installments. There are some surprising twists, as Asimov manages to link the "Foundation" universe to his popular robot series. And although, true to form, Asimov leans rather heavily on dialogue to carry the story, we are privileged to learn something more of Seldon, whom Asimov regards as his alter ego - intellectually vigorous, witty, vulnerable, and deeply concerned about the fate of his fallible species. In the end, is it Hari Seldon or Isaac Asimov who "died with the future he created unfolding all around him"?

David Brin, winner of the Nebula and Hugo Awards, should contend for this year's honors with "Glory Season." The tale of a

matriarchal society where sexual patterns have been genetically calibrated to the seasons and where daughters are the clones of their mothers, this is imaginative artistry of a high order. Brin skates over some thin socio-political ice as he examines the role of men in an overpopulated world, but his expertise in biology turns "Glory Season" into a considered and nuanced speculation rather than a stale battle-of-the-sexes tract. Brin's prose echoes the influence of Asimov, Frank Herbert, and Aldous Huxley. If the plotting is not always brisk, it is only because his world is so painstakingly drawn and is splashed with such radiant and varied hues.

Two authors who will never run out of ideas are Larry Niven

and Pournelle treat readers to a tour de force of alien contact that goes beyond the xenophobia that characterizes so many lesser close-encounter novels.

For a little xenophobia, you don't have to look farther than planet Earth. In Ben Bova's new novel called "Triumph," the time is World War II, and the enemy is the United States' ally, the Soviet Union. What if Winston Churchill, recognizing the threat to the new world order posed by Joseph Stalin, slipped the Soviet dictator a radioactive Mickey Finn?

In a daring assassination called Operation Broadsword, an Allied mole in the Kremlin plants a chip of plutonium in Stalin's desk, and the course of history is forever changed: Stalin is buried along with his paranoia, Patton takes Berlin, Yalta is scrapped, and the new regime in Moscow, led by moderates, never sees fit to erect the Iron Curtain. Pax Americana ensues, and we all live happily ever after.

Some fine storytelling excuses Bova - a hardliner's hardliner, whatever that means today - for this wish-fulfillment fantasy, which sometimes borders on the pedantic. He raises some questions that are particularly interesting to contemplate as a one-time superpower dissolves.

One of the year's most promising debuts is Patricia Anthony's "Cold Allies." Set in the middle future, with a united Arab army invading the beleaguered West, "Cold Allies" tells the story of an alien race's intervention that changes the course of the conflict. Anthony out-Clancys Tom Clancy in her stark depictions of combat. Yet she still brushes her characters (on both sides of the front) in true-to-life color.

No roundup would be complete without mention of the Science-Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America's latest annual collection of its favorite fiction of the year, "Nebula Awards 27." Edited by James Morrow, a Nebula winner-himself, this volume reprints the winners of the 1991 prizes - excerpts from Michael Swan-

FORWARD THE FOUNDATION

By Isaac Asimov
Doubleday/Foundation
416 pp., \$23.50

GLORY SEASON

By David Brin
Bantam Books
564 pp., \$22.95

THE GRIPPING HAND

By Larry Niven
and Jerry Pournelle
Pocket Books, 402 pp., \$22

TRIUMPH

By Ben Bova
Tor Books, 253 pp., \$18.95

COLD ALLIES

By Patricia Anthony
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
276 pp., \$21.95

NEBULA AWARDS 27: SFWA'S CHOICES FOR THE BEST SCIENCE FICTION AND FANTASY OF THE YEAR

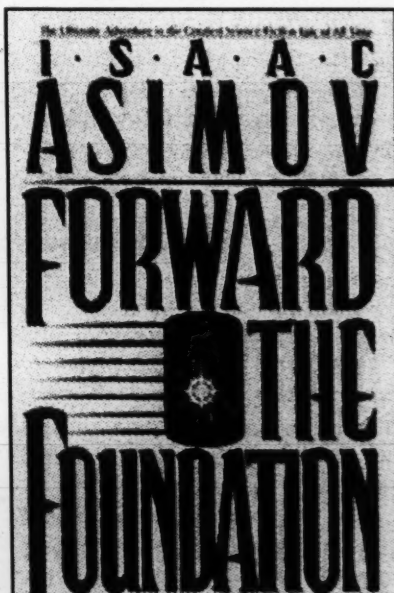
Edited by James Morrow
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
331 pp., \$24.95 cloth
\$12.95 paper

wick's "Stations of the Tide" (best novel); "Beggars in Spain" by Nancy Kress (best novella); "Guide Dog" by Mike Conner (best novelette); and "Ma Qui" by Alan Brennert (best short story) - as well as other Nebula finalists.

Morrow does not forget that April 1992 saw the departure of the great Isaac Asimov. The book includes eulogies by Arthur C. Clarke, George Zebrowski, and Harlan Ellison. It also contains Asimov's own final message.

"I have had a long and happy life," he writes. "And so farewell ... to the gentle readers who have been so uniformly kind to me. They have kept me alive to the wonders of science...." As he did his readers - to the wonders of science fiction.

■ James D. Hornfischer, a freelance writer, lives in Framingham, Mass.



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The Mallet's Clonk Heralds Sweet Victory

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY/BEQUEST OF STEPHEN CARLTON CLARK, B.A. 1903

THE goldfish knew it was summer. Not because water temperature rose and honey-gold sunlight invited them to bask near the surface. Not because the waterlilies spread their flat umbrellas above them. Not because the young hatched.

No. They knew that balmy days were here again when the bombing began. Suddenly a large round object would break their murky tranquillity by a violent descent to the bottom of the pool, then bounce, bob around excitedly, and finally float. It would not be there for long. A wooden thing like a large hammer would guide the bomb to the pond's edge, and pink fingers would lift it dripping out.

The goldfish knew. They knew that once this first cataclysmic intervention occurred, it would recur for months. Now they had to be on their guard. Plan for spontaneous retreat.

There were other warning signs, fortunately: a great increase of laughter east of the pond; an irregular but persistent "clonk" sound. Groans, too, as of humans in torment. It was the time when, after a good mowing, our rectangular front lawn was converted into a field of cunning battle and desperate designs.

Croquet is a dangerous game — and not just for goldfish. Dad's begonias, glorious in the borders surrounding the lawn, were only too brittle when caught in the relentless onrush of an over-enthusiastically walloped ball. In really wild moments, even the greenhouse, though behind a wall, was not secure. On the two sides of the lawn where the ground fell away, balls were forever flying into orbit. Sometimes they disappeared deep into the heather, and all four players would become a search party. Croquet balls — red, yellow, black, and blue — are much larger of course than tennis or golf balls, so they are comparatively easy to find.

But I suspect the chief danger of croquet at our home in Surrey, England, was to the morale of visitors. Unwittingly, they would be only too happy to agree to a game. But would we just remind them of the rules? They'd be surprised that there was only one finishing post, in the middle, not two, at the ends. They would be slightly upset to know that players aren't allowed to place a foot on a ball to stop it from moving when it is mallet-thwacked to send another ball touching it as far away as possible. They would be dismayed to see how narrow the hoops were — scarcely wider



'A GAME OF CROQUET' (1866): Oil on canvas, 19 by 30 in., by Winslow Homer.

than the balls themselves.

But their real bemusement would set in when the game began. They would have no idea how many extra turns a practiced player could earn as he instantly took charge of the game and proceeded through hoop after hoop with suave and relentless aplomb, pausing only for an occasional, insincere apology. They could only lean and watch.

A friend recently sent me an article about croquet from the Smithsonian magazine. The author, Richard Wolkomir, summed up perfectly his defeated bafflement as the archetypal loser, never even allowed a turn. "Too soon," he writes, "the game was over. It wasn't that I had played badly. I hadn't played at all."

Too often, I fear, we subjected poor visitors at our home to similar treatment. If this left them with the feeling that we had merely used them as witnesses to our prowess ... they were right. They weren't expected to win or even to compete seriously. They were there to lose — and admire.

Although such a philosophy of gamesmanship now — some years later — makes me wince a smidgen, and although my affection for croquet runs contrary to my approach to games in general, the fact is that I can still feel the piquant relish of those triumphs over all comers on the front lawn.

So why do I love croquet but despise cricket? Both seem so quintessentially English and summery.

There are two reasons. The first is that croquet was a game I chose to play, not one thrust upon me. Cricket was one of the games that, at school, was no more voluntary than Latin or algebra. Games are all ways of wasting time, but cricket, so indifferent by definition to those (like me) who are hopeless at it, always seemed to me the ultimate in squandering the hours.

The supreme injustice of cricket is that the worst players are sometimes given the ultimate responsibility of winning a game when everyone else has failed. From ennui, one is suddenly summoned to a potential moment of glory that usually turns into a moment of shame and defeat. Then the defeat is all your fault. It's a heavy burden and unfair.

One of the truly strange English idioms to derive from this weirdest national game is: "That's not cricket!" It means: "That's not fair, not honorable!" It seems to be based on some peculiar notion that cricket is the epitome of sportsmanship, of all that's proper and right and just.

Well, croquet is "not cricket." That is probably why I like it. It is, absolutely, a game of dishonor and unfairness. It is a positive

invitation to egotism, selfishness, showing off, malice, and a fulfillment of whatever innate desire one might have to knock about one's friends or relations. Croquet, correctly played, is merciless. I am unconvinced when top-flight croquet players claim that it is a decent game of planning and skill, civilized, discreet, calming. One of Richard Wolkomir's interviewees describes it as "all strategy.... It's a combination of chess and billiards on grass." Another says he likes croquet because of its "beauty and refinement, and it's intense intellectualism." I suppose similar words might be used not inappropriately of a scrupulously premeditated murder.

I KNOW you are thinking that I like croquet because it is one of the few things I am halfway good at. That's true. But it's not the whole truth.

I remember playing a batch of very satisfactory croquet matches with one of my nephews. We were extraordinarily well matched. Both equally brilliant, we couldn't finish; our games went on all night. In the process, we thought we had added a new dimension to the game. The only light available was a faint glow from the sitting room. So if he were attempting to hit the ball at the far end of the grass, I would mark it for him with my mallet. "The black ball

was particularly invisible; but all were more or less imperceptible. It is amazing, however, how often we made contact with balls we couldn't see.

But there is nothing new under the moon, it seems. Mr. Wolkomir mentions in his article that in British India croquet was often played "into the tropical night." So my nephew and I were simply extending the Raj. The only difference was that they placed candles on the hoops and finishing post. Cheating, really.

J. W. Solomon, one of Britain's masters of the game, observes in his book on croquet that aiming is best done with your head down. "You may, if you like," he kindly goes on, "look up once before you play to satisfy yourself that your aim is correct, but you will be surprised to find that you will be just as accurate if you shut your eyes when playing the stroke." (He adds that he only advocates this as an experiment in practice, however).

Perhaps croquet professionals (pro status has been authorized since 1988), growing a little blasé with the game's challenges, might start playing Blindfold Croquet. At least it would have the advantage of the loser not being able to see just how thoroughly nasty the winner is being to him.

Christopher Andreas

A Priceless Heirloom For 50 Cents

A FAMILY treasure, almost, sits prominently in our living room, and it is a sea chest. Ever and anon somebody eyes it and says, "Do you know what it's worth?" Sometimes this means, "Do you know its market value?" and sometimes it means, "Gracious! Do you realize that you have a treasure there?" Antiques accumulate price as they mature, so the question is valid, but I fear the sea chest remains at its original figure of 50 cents. My Grandfather Thomas never spent more than 50 cents for anything he bought at an auction, and he picked this sea chest up for that princely sum at the Oliver Grover auction at Carter's Corner in August of 1919. Today, nobody has money enough to persuade me.

When my Grandfather Thomas's ninth ancestor came to America from Hull, England, in 1613, his previous situation as a poor-debtor and a land-bound potwalloper limited in travel caused him to be leery of the ocean, and he was not at his best all the way across. Hoping things would get better as landfall approached, he was disappointed to hit the Fundy tides and a brisk wind simultaneously just this side of Sable Island, and this eventuality was so unsettling to Joseph (that was his name) that in the succeeding

JOHN GOULD

12 generations not one of us Goulds has considered following the sea. That is, a sea chest is nothing for me to have in my living room.

It was in July of 1919 that a midnight fire drove poor Grandfather Thomas from his bed. He saved his strongbox, and then got to the barn in time to release the stock and drive them up the lane to the pasture. At daybreak, he surveyed the cooling embers and set about renewing his affairs. He bought a one-room "camp" from a neighbor, and the neighbor moved it for him. Grandfather Thomas was 78 years old at the time, and not so spry that he felt like moving the camp himself to save two dollars. Then he began attending auctions about the countryside to pick up the things he needed to start all over again.

This was before antiques were an established business, and before summer people found them fun. Usually, an auction then was the last chirp of a family place — old folks gone and the young folks disinterested in the farm. The public notice always finished with, "and other items too numerous to mention, the accumulation of a lifetime."

Grandfather Thomas had found harnesses for his horses, and had a new hayrack, and he would go with his hayrack to an auction prepared to bring home whatever he saw that he needed or wanted. Usually at 50 cents.

At the Oliver Grover auction there was a big pile of tools, and he needed tools. Some were old and dull and broken, so the auctioneer had decided to sell them good and bad together — so much and take the lot. Thomas looked them all over and saw numerous opportunities. Some were farrier's tools, used to care for horses, and one was a formidable rasp meant to buff a horse's back teeth if necessary. I remember wondering as a boy what it was for, and Grandfather told me readily enough, but I never saw it in action.

There was a barrel-header, for heading up apple and potato barrels, and that I did see in use. Lots of shop tools, and all manner of the wrenches that came with corn shellers and milk separators and garden cultivators and water pumps — odd wrenches that would fit only one thing. And all manner of tools of long-forgotten purposes. Gramp bid his usual start of 50 cents, and then somebody in the crowd said, "Old Tom Gould wants 'em — he was burnt out, you know." The bidding ended, and now Grandfather Thomas had to have something to put all his new tools in. He said to the auctioneer's helper, "Why don't I give you 50 cents for that old box, there, and we'll h'ist the thing right into the rack?"

That's how we acquired a sea chest. It's truly a beauty, with original becketts. There was a superstition about suitcases and trunks aboard ship — every tar had his chest, and the unwritten law forbade meddlin' with another man's belongings. The becketts were not so much for carrying as for lashing down in a blow. Dangerous to have things sliding around in a storm. Grandfather Thomas never used his sea chest in the house he build later to replace the temporary camp. It remained a chest for his tools, some of which I still have — in my shop. The chest, now, is a priceless heirloom.

The Spiritual Challenge To Historical Precedents

FOLLOWING the news can be an absorbing process. You could even say it's become an integral part of good citizenship in what many today call our "global village." Yet like all facets of good citizenship, the call of duty involves active participation, rather than merely passive observation. This does not mean that we can or should react to the news by rushing to every trouble spot to help out! But there are things we *can* do, and prayer is one of them.

Prayer makes a powerful difference to the situations and circumstances that we hear about. As we pray, we'll see more ways to act on our honest desire to support mankind's quest for peace and justice. One thing that I've found needs constant attention in our prayers is the supposition that present and future events are defined by historical precedents.

It seems only natural to weigh the expectations for today's and tomorrow's events against what seem to be causes found in yesterday's experiences. Yet we are better able to serve the world through our prayers and actions if we base our expectations for the future less on historical data and more on the timeless truths that are taught in the Bible. The Scriptures' spiritual message of what God is and of what man in reality is as God's pure and sinless child gives a healing perspective.

Is it reasonable to expect this to make a difference? Yes. It is reasonable to the degree that we first prove that this spiritual basis of expectation makes a difference in our own daily experiences. Through understanding man's spiritual relationship to God we can find freedom from expecting that our life—our health, our character, our intelligence—will be defined by who our family is and what our background has been.

The Bible reveals God to be the true Parent of us all. Through prayerful recognition of God as the divine Parent from whom we each spiritually inherit all that we actually are, we discern the rich inheritance of His qualities of divine good that are man's genuine birthright.

These spiritual qualities constitute the true substance or spiritual manhood that Christ Jesus proved to belong to each of us. On this basis the Master proved that no theory of heredity or mortal history could truly touch man. When his disciples speculated about the blindness that a man had suffered since birth, the Saviour rebuked their inquiry as to whose sin had caused the problem. The Gospel of John in the Bible records Jesus' response: "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him."

I have come to think of what Jesus said as telling us, in effect, "Not only is no one's sin responsible for this ailment, but it's a lie that this condition really exists to stop this man from living

up to his true purpose of glorifying God by his spiritual well-being and health." Certainly the man's sight was then restored by Jesus in defiance of all supposed causes.

As we understand and demonstrate, step by step, the divine sonship that Jesus proved for all, we overcome the false character traits and physical ailments believed to have been inherited. The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, simply and clearly states in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, "Heredity is not a law."

There's a marvelous freedom that comes from this spiritual discovery and the evolving practical demonstration of genuinely individual identity that follows. It liberates us from being resigned to repeating previous generations' unhappy experiences. It is wonderful if we are willing and able to demonstrate this for ourselves. Yet the infinite nature of spiritual Truth can't be confined to just personal concerns.

Infinite Truth must be vast enough to apply to the collective concerns of all humanity.

Thus we can be alert to see that there is ultimately no law of material heredity for nations, tribes, or ethnic groups any more than there is for individuals. This Christly vision is an understanding that quietly supports progress toward healing rifts and calming potential conflicts. It also aids the demonstration of man's universal right to justice, freedom, and fairness.

It is our right to insist that the only real law is God's law of His ever-current goodness, which is perpetually revealed to man through Christ, the spiritual messenger to men of God's all-good nature and all-power. As Mrs. Eddy points out in *The First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany*: "It is convenient for history to record limitations and to regard evil as real, but it is impossible in Science to believe this, or on such a basis to demonstrate the divine Principle of that which is real, harmonious, and eternal—that which is based on one infinite God, and man, His idea, image, and likeness."

These truths might not make headlines in our newspapers, or on the evening news. As we are firmly aware of their validity in our prayer, though, they will be quietly effective around the world, and they will help and bless receptive hearts that are reaching out to God for answers.

To the extent that we sincerely do this, we can increasingly expect to find but one obvious historical precedent for the surprising progress of practical good that comes to light for our world. That precedent is the Bible record of man's God-given spiritual dominion, as proved so fully by the Saviour, Christ Jesus—whose lifeworks continue to challenge all limited, historical precedents!

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Neglected Majority

IN conventional measures of the quality of life around the world — income, education, and life expectancy — Japan ranks first. But when its treatment of women is factored in, Japan plummets to 17th place among 33 nations.

Similarly, the United States, which normally ranks sixth on such lists, drops to ninth when gender bias is included. Switzerland falls from fourth place to 14th. Nations as diverse as Canada, South Korea, Germany, and Sri Lanka also receive lower rankings on the basis of gender-based statistics. Sweden now occupies first place.

These findings come from an unusual study, the United Nations Human Development Report, released Tuesday. Despite many encouraging changes in national laws and policies, researchers solemnly point out that "no country treats its women as well as its men." Women, they say, constitute "the neglected majority."

Among women in industrial countries, discrimination occurs primarily in jobs and wages, with women's salaries often just half those of men. In developing nations, disparities extend to education, health care, and nutrition.

The index takes on added significance in the context of the UN World Conference on Human Rights opening June 10 in Vienna. There, representatives of more than 800 women's human-rights groups worldwide will seek to have women's rights recognized as human rights. They will present testimony showing that existing treaties and declarations have not protected human rights for women.

During the past three decades, women have achieved many victories in their struggle for equality, opening doors in business and politics. Yet any celebration of progress must be tempered with the dual realization that the task is far from complete, and that equality is not simply the province of those in industrialized nations.

A Chinese saying poetically states that women hold up half the sky. The UN human development index and the forthcoming conference in Vienna serve as timely reminders that those equal efforts deserve to be rewarded with equal opportunities in all areas of life. Only then can the adjective be removed from the phrase "the neglected majority." And only then will there be no need for those 800 women's human-rights groups.

EDITORIALS

Rejecting Aggression

AN American sailor, Terry Helvey, who savagely beat to death a homosexual shipmate, Allen Schindler, last October in a Japanese restroom, has been sentenced to life in prison by a military jury in Yokosuka. The sentence was quick, decisive, and appropriate.

Discrimination against or attacks on someone perceived as a member of a group identified by a single factor — in this case sexual orientation, but in other cases because of color, gender, age, ethnicity, disability, religion, or regional origin — are anathema in a progressive democratic society.

The notion that individuals or groups can unleash aggression against those they may perceive as inferior, different, vulnerable — or, ironically and simultaneously, a "threat" — cannot be allowed.

The military is now a place where events are compelling society to consider policies governing the treatment of targeted groups.

The Tailhook scandal has demonstrated that a tolerance for gross sexual behavior based on a predatory male model (though lamentably imitated by women too in this incident) has been allowed alongside the Navy's highest traditions of public service and patriotism.

It is frequently claimed by the defense in discriminatory cases that the

condition of the attacked — again race, gender, disability, perceived sexual orientation, age — is somehow provocative. Or it is said that an individual's latent tendency to anger (the convicted sailor) or a pack psychology (Tailhook) can be triggered by such factors. These assertions are neither true nor exonerating. The individual or group must discipline its own aggressions and not transfer responsibility to the victim.

At the moment Congress and the military are attempting to respond to President Clinton's injunction to end discrimination against gays in the military. This process, involving hearings, discussion, and public debate, has, for all the emotion this question evokes, been generally constructive. The process by which these decisions are made deserves patience, careful thought, and a supportive body politic. The more sensitive an issue, the more that calm and reason are required to reach a just conclusion.

Violent aggression often is but the outward sign of a society's inner turmoil. This would attach itself to, or stigmatize, those perceived as "different" and thereby targetable.

We all, however, deserve the dignity, care, and respect of our basic identity as creations of God. Society and its institutions must learn how to accomplish this end.



CONCLUSIONS DRAWN

OPINION/ESSAYS

*The United States should make clear
to Beijing the terms for respectability*

Respectability for China

By Warren I. Cohen

THE time has come to normalize relations with China, for the United States to treat the government of that nation as it deserves to be treated, as Washington would treat any government hostile to American interests and values.

For three-and-a-half years after the Tiananmen massacre, the Bush administration winked at Chinese transgressions and persisted in giving China the preferential treatment once justified by the exigencies of the cold war.

On occasion, under intense pressure from Congress and the media, the president scolded the Chinese or imposed nominal sanctions, even entertained the Dalai Lama while signaling continuing US support for the regime in Beijing.

The collapse of the Soviet empire eliminated the last remaining rationalization for Bush's policies.

Bill Clinton's campaign approach toward China was harsher, echoing the sentiments of congressional Democrats and former Ambassador to China Winston Lord. President Clinton's appointment of Mr. Lord as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs has put the Chinese on notice that the US expects improvement in the Chinese government's performance at home and abroad.

The fact that the men who rule the People's Republic claim to be communists is irrelevant. For most Americans, anticommunism is meaningless in the post-cold-war era. Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues have been described aptly by Roger Sullivan, former president of the US-China Business Council and long one of the leading government specialists on China, as analogous to aging Mafia dons, with Premier Li Peng as one of their lieutenants.

Their ultimate concern is the retention of power, without regard to ideology. It is no socialist utopia they struggle to preserve, nor is it anything as trivial as the spreading of market economies that must drive American policy.

The reason the current regime in Beijing must be challenged is that it operates beyond the norms of the international community, disregarding its obligations under the United Nations Charter. It ex-

acerbates threats to world peace by cooperating with Iran in development of the latter's nuclear weapons technology, and by selling ballistic missiles to any country that seeks to purchase them.

The Chinese ignore international attempts to achieve nuclear nonproliferation and the control of missile technology. They persist in supporting the murderous Khmer Rouge in Cambodia as it undermines the efforts of UN peacekeepers to bring calm to that benighted country.

The Chinese government engages in restrictive business practices to prevent the importation of American goods while subsidizing its own exports by means that

nals that the US accepts existing conditions. Chinese violations of international norms and agreements should be denounced constantly and publicly. Trade and cultural contracts should be maintained to strengthen those elements in Chinese society receptive to the democratic reforms that one day will transform China and lead it to play a benign role in world affairs.

On the other hand, unfair trade practices should be met with sanctions, and efforts should be made to restrict Chinese access to advanced technology, especially anything with potential military application, until China becomes a more responsible member of the international community.

Unless Clinton quickly succeeds in obtaining more conciliatory conduct with the Chinese government, Congress will probably make most-favored-nation (MFN) treatment of Chinese trade conditional in June.

Most students of Chinese affairs, in and out of government, agree that conditional MFN is an unwieldy weapon, unlikely to bring about the response desired from Beijing, and harmful to the Chinese people.

The dilemma is not easily resolved. Li Peng and his principals are willing and able to allow their people to endure the hardship loss of MFN, rather than risk any actions that would threaten their hold on power.

The new administration in Washington should inform the Chinese people, with words and actions, of the friendship the American people have for them — and leave no doubt in the minds of their leaders the kind of behavior expected of them.

The US wants from China what it would want from any great power, and what most politically mobile Chinese want for their country: peaceful evolution toward a regime that respects its people, gives them a voice in how they are governed, conforms to the accepted norms of international behavior, and accepts the responsibilities of its place on the Security Council of the UN.

We abdicate our own responsibilities as the world's greatest power if we settle for less.

■ Warren I. Cohen is university distinguished professor of history at Michigan State University and the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Forces for change in China must not be discouraged by signals that the US accepts existing conditions. Chinese violations of international norms and agreements should be denounced constantly and publicly.

include the exploitation of prison labor.

It refuses to assist international efforts to protect the environment, producing ever-increasing amounts of acid rain over Japan and the rest of East Asia. It threatens Hong Kong's movement toward democracy.

It is a government that violates the rights of its own people — that denies them the religious freedom promised in their own constitution and imprisons, tortures, and kills them for attempting peaceful protests. All this in violation of its obligation as a member of the UN to recognize human rights.

In sum, it is a government whose policies are contrary to the interests and ideals of all Americans. The fact that the US also sells arms and munitions around the world and that it also supported the Khmer Rouge against the Vietnamese in the 1980s, and that it has been guilty of a variety of offenses against human decency, as in El Salvador and Nicaragua, or in its treatment of Haitian refugees, is reprehensible and should be condemned.

But the crimes of the American government must not be used by relativists as an apology for Chinese actions. The misdeeds of both should be stopped.

Forces for change in China must not be discouraged by sig-

East Asians Seek US Partnerships

EAST Asia in the post-cold-war era needs a strong America — an America that remains present in the region militarily and economically. That was the major theme of a conference in Tokyo sponsored by the Asia Society of New York and attended by four prime ministers, by high-ranking officials, and by business leaders from almost all the countries in the region.

Delegates inclined to emerge from their cavernous basement hall in a Tokyo hotel would have noticed that mid-May is azalea time, when usually demure sidewalks blossom in flaming pinks and oranges. The colors match the Asian mood: buoyed by strong economic growth, most Asians (except Japan) are optimistic about their future. Even in recession-hit Japan, the gloom is palpably less than in Europe or America.

The optimism, however, is conditional: It requires partnership with America. Much of the conference's time was devoted to Asians repeating, in one way or another, why a strong America must remain in the region, and to Americans promising that that is indeed the policy of the new Democratic Clinton administration, as it was of its Republican predecessors.

Singapore's Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong called the American role "crucial" to Asian needs for the "stable environment" and "international framework" that will promote the region's growth and prosperity. Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan said much the same thing. And Winston Lord, the State Department's top official handling Asia, responded that "no region is more important to the United States than Asia."

Yet the East Asians remain uneasy. The cold war is over, but as yet no new framework for global or regional cooperation has been established. China and Japan are the giants of East Asia. Both cast long shadows across the whole region. How they define their relationships with each other and with the US will determine the long-term stability of the arc from Hokkaido to the Straits of Malacca.

In an earlier period, Washington would have taken the lead to proclaim a new policy, whatever it might be, and to get its Asian partners to go along, willingly or grudgingly. But those days of boundless American self-confidence are past. Instead, as Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia boldly declared, "We must commit ourselves to ensuring that the history of East Asia will be made in East Asia, for East Asia and by Asians."

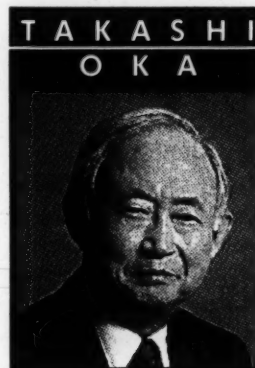
East Asian history will certainly be made by East Asians — but they are not, nor do they want to be, the only actors on their stage. The US still has not made up with Vietnam, but that is not for want of welcome on Hanoi's part. The rest of East Asia is wide open to American trade and investment — especially China, which wants to use it to counterbalance Japan's proximity and economic might.

The other East Asians are even more anxious to see the US stay in their region — not only as an economic partner, but as a strategic military one. Their concern is two-pronged: Increasingly uncomfortable with Japan's ubiquitous economic presence, they are also dismayed by the looming military and naval shadow cast by a China that claims a good portion of the South China Sea and whose economic growth enables it to modernize and strengthen its armed forces just as the rest of the world is talking of enjoying a peace dividend.

The US is now the world's only superpower. It has a security treaty with Japan that allows it to maintain a forward defense posture. East Asians want the treaty to continue. For them, it is a guarantee that Japan will not try to acquire the military might to complement its economic strength. China is equally eager to see the Americans stay.

East Asians know that the Clinton administration's No. 1 priority is reinvigorating the American economy. They too want a strong American economy, for without it their own economic growth could falter. But the question they all ask is whether President Clinton and his advisers are so focused on domestic economic problems that they lose sight of the strategic and military factor in US external relations, especially with Asia.

Winston Lord and other American officials toured East Asia and came to Tokyo to reassure the region on precisely this point. But the questions continue, and will do so until a clearer and more consistent outline of American intentions in Asia emerges.



TAKASHI
OKADA



HOUSE BACKS REDUCED JOBS BILL

The House of Representatives approved a sharply reduced version of the administration jobs bill that was derailed by Republicans in the Senate last month. The legislation contained \$931 million for summer jobs and other programs to create work, compared with the \$16.3 billion in President Clinton's original jobs bill. Even the reduced bill passed only after the administration agreed to match all new spending with cuts in other government programs. Sponsors said the money for summer jobs could give an additional 237,000 teenagers work this summer.

Clinton hails compromise

President Clinton said yesterday a new pact between Democratic leaders and conservatives on a mechanism for curbing federal spending will put "some discipline" in his budget-cutting tax bill. Democratic leaders said they expected the compromise to lead to passage of the fiscal plan in the House yesterday afternoon.

Battle over Guinier

The White House has finally decided to come to the defense of Lani Guinier, the president's embattled nominee to become chief of the Justice Department's civil-rights division. Conservative activists have attacked Ms. Guinier as a radical and a "Quota Queen" who dislikes democracy. But White House lobbyist Howard Paster said in a letter Wednesday to all senators that she's getting a bum rap.

Marshall papers still open

The Library of Congress said Wednesday it will keep the more than 173,000 papers of late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall open to the public. Chief Justice William Rehnquist had issued a sharply worded letter rebuking the library for its original decision. But Librarian of Congress James Billington said he remained confident the library was carrying out the exact intentions of Justice Marshall.

Gay killing case ends

An emotionally charged case that sparked debate over gays in the US military came to a tearful conclusion yesterday when a sailor was sentenced to life in prison for killing a homosexual shipmate. Terry Helvey said he did not kill Allen Schindler because the victim was gay, but the defense gave no other motive for the attack.

Showdown over Haiti

Haitian officials say they don't believe the United States will make good on threats to tighten sanctions, as the standoff over Presi-

dent Jean-Bertrand Aristide's ouster continued. US officials said Wednesday that the military-backed government's rejection of international mediation prompted President Clinton to consider freezing the assets and revoke the visas of officials and supporters of the military-backed regime. No timetable was given.

GM-Volkswagen dispute

General Motors Corporation has charged that its former purchasing chief, Jose Ignacio Lopez de Arriortua, took company secrets with him when he moved to Volkswagen AG. But in the first court case arising out of the dispute, a German court ruled in favor of Volkswagen on Wednesday, rejecting a GM request to stop VW from employing seven managers who followed Mr. Lopez to the firm.

Kurdish rebels attack

The Marxist Kurdistan Workers Party has stepped up its attacks in Turkey. After gunning down 38 people on Monday, the Kurdish separatist rebels abducted 16 roadworkers, officials said yesterday. The attacks make a mockery of a cease-fire with the rebels announced in March.

After the cardinal's killers

The Mexican government says it knows who was responsible for the killing of Cardinal Juan Jesus Posadas Ocampo in a drug-related shooting, and is offering \$5 million for information leading to their capture. The government also said that drug traffickers had intended to kill a rival drug lord, not the prelate.

'The flames shall burn'

Iraq's state-run newspapers yesterday threatened that Baghdad would retaliate militarily for Iranian air raids that targeted Iraqi-based Iranian rebels. "The flames shall burn all those who start a fire," warned the daily newspaper of the armed forces.

- Compiled by Max Boot



Congressional Rebuttal in Defense of NAFTA

The author offers a new charge against reducing trade barriers through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the article "Free Trade Brings High Tax," May 18. His point that it will result in enormous cost to the federal government is a new but weak arrow in the quiver of those who have always opposed NAFTA.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates that tariff revenues will be \$800 million a year lower in 10 years with NAFTA than they would be with our current tariffs. Thus, the "enormous" cost of NAFTA in lost revenue will be but a tiny fraction of all federal revenue in 2003, if we do not raise taxes in the next 10 years!

Those who make this "enormous cost" argument miss the point that free trade is our primary engine for economic expansion, and that means more tax revenue. NAFTA promises a net increase of somewhere from 400,000 to 4.5 million new jobs over 10 years. Even if we take the lower estimate, the increased economic activity spurred by NAFTA will result in at least \$5 billion annually from federal income and wage taxes.

Not only will the defeat of NAFTA hurt United States consumers and workers, it will also throw away billions in new federal tax revenues.

Rep. David Dreier
(R) of California

Washington

In the May 18 article, my colleague misses the proverbial boat in hinting that he has discovered some plot behind the border states' support of NAFTA. He insinuates that the real reason for our support of NAFTA is to spend federal dollars from the Treasury for what he contends are unneeded investments in infrastructure along the 2,000-mile US-Mexico border.

Let me assure the author that we know all too well that the real benefits to our region of a good free-trade agreement are going to be the hundreds of jobs created and the new dollars that will flow back and forth across the border. In fact, we feel strongly that the entire country can benefit from more prosperous trade with Mexico, and so our argument for more investment in roads, bridges,

and runways is made with even Ohio in mind.

Studies show that thousands of jobs have already been created in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and other Northeastern states as trade with Mexico explodes. In a few short years, President Salinas's policies have helped turn a trade deficit with Mexico into a \$6-billion-a-year trade surplus. Mexico is expected to import another \$20 billion in goods in the next five years, 80 percent of which will come from American companies.

What we seek in the border region is to be an active participant in the economic development that will be spurred by increasing trade with Mexico. We have already seen some of the economic benefits of a growing Mexican economy as retail sales surge and unemployment drops in El Paso.

Our improving economy is proof to the entire nation that it is not in the best interest of the border, of Ohio, or even Canada to keep Mexico poor and encourage mass migration and poverty on our side of the border.

Any investment the federal government can make in assisting us in developing trade is a good investment for even the author's constituent taxpayers, who like it or not pay taxes that support the two-thirds of border residents who live in poverty because they cannot find work.

An investment we make today in replacing the handouts with paychecks is as good a deal for the author's constituents as it is for mine. I'm sorry to disappoint my anti-NAFTA colleagues, but the wish list in my pocket could never be fulfilled by the federal government. However, we could check items off the list quickly if we will encourage trade with Mexico and border economic development that will raise the standard of living for an area of the country that so desperately needs it.

Rep. Ronald Coleman
(D) of Texas

Washington

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.